

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MARCH 28, 1975

AN INTERNATIONAL DAILY NEWSPAPER

VOL. 67, NO. 58 TWO SECTIONS INTERNATIONAL EDITION 6P IN BRITISH ISLES 15c ELSEWHERE

PATTERN OF DIPLOMACY

Kissinger and the era of U.S. pullback

By Joseph C. Harach

American foreign policy has not since the early days of the cold war had at the edges so many actual or threatened losses, so many intractable and unresolved problems, and so much reason for anxiety about some of these problems as today. For the President and his Secretary of State in Washington, the ideas of this March were certainly not propitious. To keep it all in perspective it must be remembered that except for the political deterioration in Portugal these troubles lie around the outer fringes of American interests and influence, not at the center. But there are plenty of them. They have piled up in the short span of about three weeks. Taken together they are forcing Washington to remember that it does have far-ranging world interests which need constant attention — more than they have been getting of late.

Disintegrating client

To an embattled Henry Kissinger the assassination of King Faisal of Saudi Arabia must have come as a last cruel blow of an unkind fate. He had just failed to secure in the Middle East that decisive breakthrough to an Egyptian-Israeli settlement toward which he had been working for nearly a year.

While he was in the Middle East on that unsuccessful mission, America's client government in Cambodia was disintegrating. As he was returning from the Middle East, President Thieu of South Vietnam gave the orders for military withdrawals which in too many cases turned into routs.

Hence, as of this weekend Dr. Kissinger faces:

1. The probable early collapse of America's client government in Cambodia.
2. The possible early collapse of its far more important client in Vietnam.
3. The possible spread of communist influence from those two countries to others.
4. The revived danger of a fifth Arab-Israeli war. (Dr. Kissinger recognizes July as the next possible flashpoint.)
5. New uncertainty about Saudi Arabia's role in the Middle East.
6. Unresolved tensions between Greece and Turkey which endangers the southeastern flank of NATO.
7. The serious danger, which became worse over the last week, of a Moscow-variety Communist Party securing decisive political control over Portugal, which lies on the main NATO supply line between the United States and its forward positions in the Mediterranean and in the Middle East.

Two doctrines

This is a work load sufficient to daunt even a Henry Kissinger. It caused some of his critics to repeat their belief that it is too much for any one man and that he should begin to share his responsibilities with others. It also makes it in order to notice that except for the assassination of King Faisal these are the sort of things which are bound to occur when a great world power goes over from a forward to a defensive national strategy.

The period of the cold war was marked by a forward American strategy. Under the Truman Doctrine, the United States was actually expanding its frontiers of influence.

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'Inglorious retreat'—South Vietnamese troops hoisted to Hue evacuation ships

His back to the wall, Thieu tries to regroup a demoralized army

By Daniel Southard
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

President Nguyen Van Thieu has a deepening crisis in troop morale on his hands as his army tries to cope with continuing pressure in the north and the possibility of some of the biggest battles of the war developing only 40 to 60 miles away from Saigon. Within less than a week, South Vietnam has seen the disintegration of one of the Saigon government's best infantry divisions and the loss of two more provinces along with a disorderly retreat from the former imperial capital of Hue. The North Vietnamese now control the northern third of South Vietnam, except for an enclave that embraces the port city of Da Nang.

The two provinces that fell in recent days to the North Vietnamese were Quang Tin and Quang Ngai. Well-informed sources said that the Saigon command had ordered its troops to withdraw from these provinces without putting up a fight.

Coup attempt thwarted

In the atmosphere of uncertainty created by the rapidly accumulating setbacks on the battlefield, small groups of politicians have been holding meetings and making declarations aimed at getting President Thieu to share power.

The government announced Thursday that it had thwarted an attempted coup and arrested several persons, including a few of these politicians and their associates. None of those arrested was a major political figure or active military officer, and there was no evidence to indicate that any coup attempt had been developing.

Political observers tended to view the arrests as a warning to the politicians. Mr. Thieu was saying, in effect, according to these observers, that he is still in control and plans to bring about changes in the government in his own way. Mr. Thieu earlier had announced that he was forming a "war cabinet" to deal with the critical situation.

One of the meetings of politicians

was conveyed by former vice-prime minister Nguyen Cao Ky, an old rival of the President, and a few of those arrested were political associates of Mr. Ky. The Rev. Tran Huu Thanh, leader of an anti-corruption group that had organized demonstrations against Mr. Thieu late last year, said that several of his supporters were among those arrested.

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Ankara awaits sign from Congress

Turkey mulls action on U.S. bases

By Sam Cohen
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Istanbul Turkey is expected to wait until the end of April to see whether the United States Congress repeals its decision to cut off military aid to Turkey.

If Congress does not move by that date indications are that Turkey will embark on a series of measures that could lead to a serious deterioration in American-Turkish relations and a weakening of NATO's southeastern flank.

[The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has approved a bill to permit resumption of U.S. aid to Turkey. But the measure will not be considered by Congress until after the Easter recess and it remains to be seen whether it will go along with the committee's recommendation.]

Various contingency plans have been drawn up by Turkey's military and diplomatic experts.

The U.S. maintains more than 20

military installations in Turkey, and five of these are considered of vital importance for the Western alliance. They include the strategic air base at Incirlik and the sophisticated radar installations and early warning system at Diyarbakir and Sinop.

Value reassessed

Foreign Minister Melih Esenbel told this correspondent in an interview that Turkey will be obliged to "suspend the activities" of some American installations if the arms ban is not halted. "Those bases which are of less importance to our common

Largest tax cut faces last hurdle

President, Congress square off to see if Ford will veto economic aid bill

By Peter C. Smart
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

The largest tax cut in American history confronts one last obstacle: a game of political bluff between President Ford and Congress.

The President is wrestling with the decision of whether to veto an "Easter egg bill" which would put an immediate rebate of \$100 to \$200 in the pocket of virtually every American of voting age.

The Democratic Congress is daring him, in effect, to go ahead and do so.

One Republican congressional leader whom Mr. Ford has consulted says the President will take four or five days — he has 10 days in which to veto — to reassess the whole economic basis of the \$22.8 billion tax cut.

'President undecided'

Press secretary Ron Nessen confirmed Thursday that the President "has not made a decision to sign or veto" the legislation.

He is "seriously concerned" about some provisions of Congress' \$22.8-billion tax reduction and feels a veto could be sustained at least in the House, Mr. Nessen said.

In reaching his decision, Mr. Ford is getting conflicting guidance from individual lawmakers and their collective votes on the measure.

The political dilemma is mirrored by a key Republican on the House Ways and Means Committee, which originated the tax cut. Although he voted against the final bill, he concedes privately that he wouldn't mind if the President shied away from vetoing it. "He (the Republican) understands," explains an aide, "that it's a very tough decision."

Democrats on Capitol Hill tend to doubt a White House veto. They cite two reasons, one economic and the other political:

- The size of the tax cut, says an aide of Ways and Means Committee Chairman Al Ullman (D, Ore.), "is not all that much more" than the President asked (\$22.8 billion versus Mr. Ford's \$18 billion to \$20 billion.)

And it is geared to provide the quick economic stimulus which he seeks, rather than mortgage tax receipts into the future, as the Senate plan would have done.

Politically, a veto would hand Democrats in Congress an opportu-

nity to turn Mr. Ford's charges of "delay" on economic recovery measures, back against him. A veto would postpone tax relief an estimated two more weeks.

Senate Finance Committee chairman Russell B. Long (D) of Louisiana claims the President isn't "foolish enough" to veto the tax cut. But he is staying in Washington during Congress' current Easter recess, just in case.

Many of Mr. Ford's Republican colleagues in Congress, on the other hand, are convinced that he will impose a veto. House Republican Leader John J. Rhodes of Arizona flatly predicts so. He indicated the President was reconsidering the whole idea of a tax cut.

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Oil firms pessimistic on tax bill

They see cutback in exploration

By Harry B. Ellis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

American consumers and the U.S. economy, experts believe, will get a quick — and in some respects enduring — stimulus from the tax-cut bill finally passed by Congress.

Major oil companies, however, deplore the loss of their 22 percent depletion allowance. Repeal of this benefit, said T. J. Boone of the Gulf Oil Company, will boost his firm's taxes "in excess of \$100 million a year."

"Adding \$100 million to our tax bill," he said, "means we will deduct \$100 million from exploration of new oil," with offshore operations especially hard-hit.

Will the extra tax costs be passed along to consumers in the form of higher oil prices? No, said Mr. Boone, because — under current price-control regulations — they cannot be passed through.

"This tax bill," noted Alan Murray, vice-president and economist of the First National City Bank of New York, "is shaped to have its major [stimulative] impact in 1976," with billions of extra dollars in the hands of American families in the April-June quarter of the year.

Tax rebates, reduction in 1975 withholding rates, cash payments to social-security and some other pension recipients, and a one-year \$30 tax credit for taxpayers and each dependent — all these measures, said Mr. Murray, are designed to give a quick stimulus to the economy.

Americans will not have to apply for their rebates, said the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) but will receive them automatically, beginning 45 days after the tax legislation is signed into law.

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Art by the mile—24.5 miles to be exact

By Frederic A. Moritz
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Petaluma, Calif. The herds of Jersey cattle look pretty much at home. And so do the creaking windmills scattered across the gently rolling hills on these peaceful Sonoma County dairy farms, 50 miles north of San Francisco.

But what — the cows might ask — about those 2,370 marker stakes driven into the soil 62 feet apart? Each neatly tied with a red ribbon,

'Running Fence,' a controversial cloth fence, will wend through pastures to the sea

they stretch westward toward the Pacific Ocean as far as the eye can see.

Those are the beginnings of a work of art, Bulgarian-born Christo Javacheff would explain. The stakes mark the 24.5 mile projected route of "Running Fence," a \$1 million project to string an 18-foot high fabric wall around two northern California counties, and on 600 feet into the sea.

Yet in Marin and Sonoma counties, opposition to Christo's work (he does not use his last name) has been almost as strong as the wind this New York-based artist hopes will make the white nylon fabric billow with texture and form for two weeks this fall.

Local sculptress Mary McConney, among others, is hardly impressed

with the long, worldwide list of other Christo feats — including "Stacked Oil Drums" in Cologne Harbor, 1961; "Wrapped Coast — Little Bay — 1 million square feet" (made of erosion control fabric), Sydney, Australia, 1969; "Valley curtain, Grand Hogback, Rifle, Colorado" (200,000 square feet of nylon polyamide stretched across a canyon) 1971; and "Ocean Front" (150,000 square feet of floating polypropylene stretched over the ocean near Newport, Rhode Island), 1974.

Says Mrs. McConney, "It's theater rather than art. A huge construction project, an invasion of privacy, and an attempt to make it into the art history books the easy way." Like

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Bobby Fischer risks becoming ex-champ

Stormy American might try to set up his own world chess title matches

By Larry Eldridge
Sports writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

Bobby Fischer may have carried his petulant one-man war against authority too far. Unless he reconsiders his refusal to defend his chess title, he will find himself an ex-world champion.

Fischer has an April 1 deadline for officially informing the International Chess Federation (FIDE) that he is prepared to defend his crown in a \$5 million match in Manila starting next October. If he lets that date go by, he will be stripped of his title. Russian challenger Anatoly Karpov then will become champion, according to FIDE president Max Euwe. Right now, all indications are that this is exactly what will happen.

Bizarre behavior is nothing new for Fischer. He provoked similar doubts about his intentions right up to the very start of the 1972 match in which he won the title from Boris Spassky in Iceland. The fact that he finally did play that match leads some people to hope that he will come around at the last minute this time, too. But they may be disappointed.

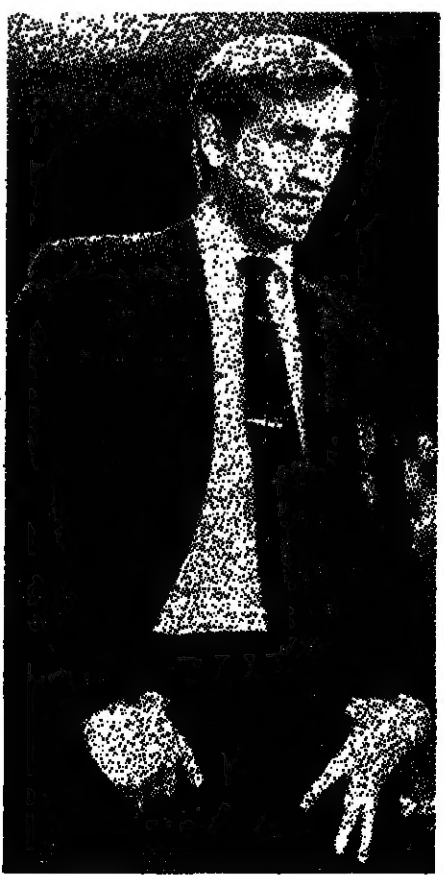
"I know how he feels because we've talked about it," Ed Edmondson, executive director of the U.S. Chess Federation, said in a recent telephone interview. "I'd say there's only one chance in a thousand that he'll play."

Edmondson thinks Fischer may choose instead to bypass official channels and set up his own matches for the "real" world title, confident that the public will accept him as the true champion unless and until he is defeated over the board.

"Obviously that's his attitude — that he won the championship and the FIDE title doesn't matter," Edmondson said.

This latest chapter in Fischer's continuing dispute with FIDE concerns the latter's refusal to go along with one of Fischer's demands for changes in match conditions. The international governing body did accept a great many of the champion's proposals, including the key suggestions that the winner will be the first player to win 10 games and that there be no limit on the number of games played. It balked, however, at his insistence that, if the score reaches 9-

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Keystone

Fischer—will he play?

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Setbacks in Angola, Rhodesia

Violence threatens transition in Africa

By Geoffrey Godsell
Overseas news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

Violence threatens the smooth transfer of political power in two of the colonial territories in southern Africa which seem poised for transition to black-majority rule. The two are Angola — the richest land in Portuguese Africa, due to become independent under a black government in November — and Rhodesia, where preliminary talks about opening the door to black-majority rule have been in suspense for a month.

In Angola, a bitter feud between two of the African nationalist movements hoping to run the country after November has led to at least 51 members of one of them being gunned down by the other this week. This has dealt such a blow at the timetable for independence worked out by the revolutionary Portuguese Government in Lisbon — in a hurry to be freed of the burden of colonial territories — that it sent two Cabinet ministers out to the Angolan capital of Luanda Wednesday to calm things down.

Widespread suspicion

In Rhodesia, there is widespread suspicion among Africans that the white authority there (the white-minority government of Prime Minister Ian Smith) is doing just the opposite to the Portuguese ministers in Luanda. Mr. Smith (it is alleged) is trying to exploit latent strains between the African nationalist groupings in Rhodesia to try to delay, rather than speed up, any transfer of political power to the black African majority.

The rival nationalist groupings in Angola are the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), led by Holden Roberto who has close ties with adjoining Zaïre, and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) led by Agostinho Neto, who has Marxist leanings and is thought to be the favorite of the more radical members of the Portuguese Government in Lisbon.

The people killed in this week's

violence in Angola were young recruits to MPLA who were ambushed by uniformed members of FNLA.

Quarrel avoided

Jonas Savimbi, the leader of a third Angolan nationalist movement, UNITA, said in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, that his organization would keep out of the quarrel between MPLA and FRELIMO. He said he did not think there would be civil war.

In Rhodesia, the attorney general's office said it expected next week the verdict of the special tribunal set up to rule on whether or not the government's decision to return to detention one of the country's black nationalist leaders, the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, was legal. Mr. Sithole is head of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). His chief rival to head any eventual black government in Zimbabwe (the African name for Rhodesia) is Joshua Nkomo, head of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU).

Both Messrs. Sithole and Nkomo had been in detention for a decade until last December. Early this month, Mr. Sithole was released. Mr. Sithole is generally viewed as the more radical of the two.

Smith strategy seen

Africans believe Mr. Smith's aim was to split Mr. Sithole and ZANU away from the nationalist movement as a whole and then tempt the more pragmatic Mr. Nkomo into doing a deal on his own with the whites — one which would preserve white-minority power and privilege. But the nationalist movement as a whole, including Mr. Nkomo's faction, refuses to talk to Mr. Smith until Mr. Sithole is released. If he is not, ZANU — which has hitherto spearheaded guerrilla activity against whites — threatens to step up that activity beyond anything experienced hitherto.

Arab world veering slowly away from U.S.

Comment concentrates on Kissinger commitment to Israel; Saudi King promises more aid to PLO; American Jews criticized for propaganda

By John K. Cooley
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Beirut, Lebanon

There has been a subtle but noticeable shift in the tone of Arab comment about United States policy since the collapse of Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's latest mediation efforts between Israel and Egypt.

Cairo, which had been a main supporter of U.S. diplomacy, has modified its earlier optimism.

In covering Dr. Kissinger's news conference in Washington Wednesday, Cairo radio's "Voice of the Arabs," beamed throughout the Arab world, concentrated on the Secretary's assurances that the U.S. remains fully committed to Israel's survival.

Columnist's demand

Michel Abu Jawdeh, syndicated columnist of the Beirut newspaper Al-Nahar, said no real change or reappraisal of U.S. policy could be effective unless the U.S. either abandoned total commitment to Israel, or recognized the PLO.

Deep concern continues in the Arab world about the loss of King Faisal. He was regarded as a solid pivot of inter-Arab relations as well as the main guarantor of relations with the U.S., since he was the strongest friend Washington had among Arab rulers.

Egyptian comment on King Faisal's murder has stressed that Faisal was a permanent target of pro-Israeli forces in the U.S. The Cairo daily Al-Akhar said this was especially so when it was felt that "the King's firm stand was one of the main reasons leading the U.S. to adopt a relatively moderate stand [toward the Arabs] in contrast to its earlier full support of Israel and its ambitions."

Propaganda targeted

American Jews, Al-Akhar added, had maintained a continuous propaganda campaign against Faisal in an effort to persuade U.S. public opinion that the Saudi King was to blame for

the "misery" overtaking the U.S. economy.

Arab commentators carefully noted Secretary Kissinger's assurances at his news conference that the U.S. would soon contact the Soviet Union with a view to reconvening the Geneva peace conference.

But when newsmen here asked Sen. George McGovern, chairman of the Middle East subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, his opinion about Geneva, the Senator said he thought it better "if we hold off for a while on Geneva." Senator McGovern, who is touring the Middle East, was in Saudi Arabia when Faisal was killed.

Among new Saudi King Khalid's first official acts was a conversation with Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) chairman Yasser Arafat. A Lebanese newsmen who was present says Khalid assured Mr. Arafat, "We will do even more for the PLO and the Palestine cause than we have done in the past."

King Faisal had been a main source of funds for the PLO and its largest member guerrilla organization, Al-Fatah. Mr. Arafat was one of the last Arab leaders to see Faisal, who promised him, according to Arab newsmen, that "the Arabs will recover Jerusalem."

On the Arab's extreme left, past

charges of U.S.-Saudi collusion have given way to accusations that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) may have planned King Faisal's murder.

Arab heads of state present in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, for Faisal's funeral and Khalid's installation met Thursday and "decided to remain in contact" with a view to a possible summit strategy conference soon, the Saudi state radio reported.

U.S. Vice-President Nelson A. Rockefeller, who presented condolences and a message from President Ford to King Khalid Thursday, talked with President Sadat before the latter returned to Cairo.

Libertarian Party gears up for '76

By Curtis J. Sitomer
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

San Francisco

Partly as an aftermath of Watergate, a new political party may be showing up on presidential ballots across the United States next year — the Libertarian.

The developing national caucus — carrying the banners of economic laissez-faire and social self-determination — expects to qualify presidential electors and state and local candidates in up to 30 states. The Libertarian label is already valid in Colorado, Utah, and Washington.

A Libertarian can be anything from a conservative Republican to a liberal Democrat.

But this is not surprising, says national party chairman Edward H. Crane III. In an interview with this newspaper at national party headquarters in San Francisco, Mr. Crane said Libertarians draw from extremes of the political spectrum. (He, for example, was once a Goldwater Republican. National director Ned Hutchinson was a staffer of ex-California Gov. Ronald Reagan, a conservative, and administrative assis-

tant Linda Webb worked in the presidential campaign of Democrat George McGovern.)

Basic belief in common

What Libertarians have in common — both from the Left and the Right — is a basic belief in individual freedom, economic self-sufficiency, limited government, and a stress on voluntarism.

Many draw their economic and political philosophies from the writings of Ayn Rand, Herbert Spencer, John Locke, and John Stuart Mill.

The Libertarian Party was actually formed in 1971. Since then, it has held several national conventions. Last year, 40 candidates for state and local office ran under this label — including an Ohio senatorial hopeful and a candidate for governor of New York.

Now, however, the party is thrusting toward nominating presidential candidates at a New York convention next summer. And it is undertaking a broad fund-raising and promotional campaign to attract new members.

Dues payers are few

Mr. Crane admits that its dues-paying supporters are still relatively few — about 8,000. But he insists the

Libertarian vote-getting capability is actually about 500,000 — and could reach several million by 1976.

"We might be the nation's leading 'third party' after the Republicans and Democrats," the party chairman says.

Libertarians now have organized groups in 41 states — with the biggest clusters in California, New York, and Florida.

Although primarily philosophically focused, the Libertarian Party is also issue-oriented. There seems to be something for everyone.

Speech freedoms embraced

For political liberals, the party embraces broad speech freedoms: sex, age, and race equality; repeal of "victimless" crime laws — such as those against drug use, gambling, and pornography; and labor-union rights.

In common with conservatives, it preaches against government regulation of the economy; it opposes price supports and public subsidies, mandated health care and compulsory education; and it wants to curb foreign aid. It also advocates withdrawal of the United States from the United Nations.

Labourites still anti-market

London

By the Associated Press

Grass-roots members of Britain's ruling Labour Party have decided to seek withdrawal from the European Common Market in spite of the government's recommendation that Britain remain a member of the nine-nation bloc.

The decision came at a five-hour meeting of the party's 29-member National Executive, which represents Labourite voters throughout Britain.

The executive accepted by acclamation a resolution recommending that the Labour Party support "the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the Common Market."

Rockefeller aids son's firm

By the Associated Press

New York

Vice-President Nelson A. Rockefeller, who told Congress during his confirmation hearings that he would take "no active part, no interest" in the family's business affairs, has come to the aid of a company run by his son, the Wall Street Journal reported Wednesday.

A spokesman for the Vice-President said: "Nelson Rockefeller's agreement is nothing more than a personal commitment he made to his son, Rodman, prior to Mr. Rockefeller's confirmation as Vice-President."

The paper said the Vice-President and his brother, Laurence Rockefeller, agreed to assist the firm, International Basic Economy Corporation (IBEC), get an extension of certain loan deadlines from two insurance companies and alterations of credit terms with a banking group headed by Chase Manhattan Bank. Another brother, David, is chairman of Chase.

In addition, Nelson and Laurence Rockefeller agreed to lend, or guarantee, loans up to \$3 million to IBEC, whose president is Rodman Rockefeller, the Vice-President's son.

The paper said there was no indication of any misuse of the Vice-President's office and said IBEC denied any conflict of interest in dealing with the Chase bank. IBEC is 67 percent owned by Rockefeller interests.

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What farm bill could cost U.S.

Higher prices, taxes seen for consumers

By Robert P. Hey
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington—If the farm bill now passed in differing form by Senate and House should become law, it would mean:

• Higher food prices in supermarkets.

• Higher incomes for farmers, stemming the slide thus far in 1975 and enabling them to cope with their rising costs.

• Higher taxes for American taxpayers, to finance the added federal subsidies and loans to farmers. How much higher is not known — the exact amount of money in the bill will have to be worked out between differing House and Senate versions.

High Ford administration officials have been predicting a presidential veto, notably Agriculture Secretary Earl Butts; they say it will cost government, and consumers, too, much money in higher farm prices.

Differences substantial

According to the Department of Agriculture, the House-approved bill would raise federal farm-aid costs by \$470 million during its one-year life. The present costs are estimated at \$684 million.

The department says the Senate version would cost taxpayers \$19.6 billion over three years — a total with which the Senate Agriculture Committee, which drew up the bill, "vigorously disagrees." It says the total will be "substantially less," but is unable to put a precise figure on it.

During the second week in April the two houses of Congress are expected to reconcile their competing versions, arriving at a midway figure.

Farmers have been caught between sliding income and soaring prices for fuel, seed, fertilizer, machinery, and land. They have been petitioning Congress for this program of higher price supports and more government loans.

Advocates hope the bills will encourage farmers this year to do what the Ford administration has asked — go "all out" in planting crops. They note that farmers had been fearing their incomes would tumble due to overproduction and domestic oversupply. They pointed out that last year the Ford administration required that prior government approval be obtained for sizeable foreign sales of foodstuffs, causing farmers to fear shrinking markets and oversupply would reduce their incomes.

The bill would boost farm price supports for several main crops, thus reducing farmers' concern that their incomes would be decreased by oversupply.

Cuba and Nepal decide to exchange ambassadors

Havana—Cuba and Nepal have decided to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level, it was officially announced here.

An official statement published in "Granma" said the two nations would exchange ambassadors in due course.

News media power in Capitol

San Diego, Calif.—Former Sen. George Murphy says the news media is the leading power wielder in Washington.

"They made one president retire and another one resign," the former actor told a group of Republican women.

Mr. Murphy, who lost a bid for a second Senate term as a Republican from California in 1970, added, "Second in power are the labor unions."

Africans critical of U.S. 'disinterest'

By Henry S. Hayward
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Nairobi, Kenya—Black Africa is growing increasingly critical of the present United States attitude toward this diverse and underdeveloped continent.

Generally speaking, the independent African nations north of South Africa and Rhodesia believe that Washington does not take Africa and its problems seriously enough at present.

A number of governments in this part of the world are convinced, moreover, that the Americans have relegated Africa south of the Sahara to a position near the bottom of the list as far as aid and investment are concerned.

Kenya's Foreign Affairs Minister Munyua Waiyaki said recently that U.S. policy toward Africa is sur-

prisingly insensitive to the appeals and requests by Africa.

More than capital

While Kenya welcomes American investment in this country, Dr. Waiyaki stressed that Africa also looks to the United States for cooperation in the fight against racial injustices on the continent, not for economic aid alone.

"Africa wants to have American cooperation in its various endeavors not only to bring about decent living for its peoples, but also in the fight against injustice in all spheres of human life," he told American businessmen in Nairobi.

On the political side, many Africans criticize the American government for being "too soft" in its toleration for the racial policies of Prime Minister John Vorster's South African government.

They point out that U.S. trade with

Africa is minimal — and that a relatively large portion of it goes to South Africa. Some, they suspect, still goes indirectly to Rhodesia as well, despite efforts to halt such traffic.

Vorster 'detente' scouted

There also are African spokesmen, of whom Dr. Waiyaki is one, who doubt that the Vorster policy of detente with black Africa will work. The Kenya minister described it as "meaningless and doomed to failure unless it is accompanied by a general change of heart."

Despite efforts by President Kaunda of Zambia and President Nyerere of Tanzania to keep the prospect of detente with southern Africa alive, other black Africans are beginning to lose patience once more and are calling for a resumption of armed struggle against Rhodesia, for example.

Criticism of the United States over the appointment of Nathaniel Davis to the post of Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs has subsided for the moment. But it almost certainly will erupt again the first time a major U.S. decision regarded as adverse to African interests occurs.

Low priority sensed

Alongside African objections to Mr. Davis ran a strong current of dissatisfaction with what Africans are convinced is the low level of priority accorded by the United States to affairs here.

The fact that many Africans, rightly or wrongly, also regarded Mr. Davis personally as controversial or poorly qualified only helped provide an irresistible opportunity for several outbursts against Washington's general inattentiveness.

In an editorial critique of American policy in Africa, the Daily Nation of Nairobi asked: "Does America want Africa to understand that she can champion democracy at home, make friends with independent African countries, and at the same time maintain firm ties with the enemies of democracy and justice in Africa and hope also to maintain credibility in our midst?"

What justification does Africa cite for greater American interest? One answer is its enormous untapped natural resources and untrained manpower which, if properly utilized, could improve the lot of millions here and abroad. But that will require vastly greater inputs of American technology, money, and interest in Africa.

Women to be in on Antarctic probes

Canberra—Australia is to let women take part in future Antarctic expeditions as a contribution to International Women's Year.

Making the Fed tell its plans in advance

Congress to oversee U.S. central banking structure more closely, beginning in May

By Richard L. Strout
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Congress is taking closer oversight of the powerful Federal Reserve system with a program that may alter the relationship of the legislature to America's central banking structure.

It will bring chairman Arthur Burns before it four times a year, and make the Fed's money managers outline their plans in advance. With the new tax cut it is part of the drive by Congress to help alleviate the present recession.

Under a just-enacted Senate-House resolution, Dr. Burns will be called to appear before the Senate Banking Committee under chairman William Proxmire (D) of Wisconsin around May 1, and before the House Banking Committee under Henry S. Reuss (D), also of Wisconsin, Aug. 1, and from there on at quarterly intervals.

The resolution sets up certain short-term guidelines for the Fed, including the goal of lower long-term interest rates and easier money. More important, some think, is the implicit command that the open Fed's market committee, which directs policies, disclose its target to Congress on money supply and interest rates in advance.

Recent criticism

Congress is going to be breathing down chairman Burns's neck in a way that has not happened before since the semi-independent agency was set up in 1913. This comes largely because of recent criticism; critics of the Fed charge that it produced an explosion of credit in 1972, 1973, and early 1974, thereby stimulating inflation, and that it thereafter slammed on the brakes so sharply that it helped produce the present recession.

While this is denied by supporters of the system, Congress has decided to take a closer view over its operations.

Some fear that the Fed's independence is endangered.

What seems developing is a test of personalities among three powerful figures, Dr. Burns and Messrs. Proxmire and Reuss.

The resolution, passed with a final House vote March 24, 335-to-46, is "landmark legislation," Mr. Reuss declared. Opponents called it an "exercise in futility" and a waste of time. A concurrent resolution has disputed authority, as contrasted to an actual statute, and this one is expressed in general terms as a "sense of Congress."

Creature of Congress

The Federal Reserve System, a creature of Congress, was made quasi-independent to separate it from politics. But many observers, such as economist Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago, think that the crucial policymaking authority over money cannot be separated from the rest of government. In effect, the Fed itself tacitly acknowledges this and bends to the will of the rest of the government over the long term.

Key decisions of the Open Market Committee of 12 are not told to Congress until afterward. The committee is made up of the seven Reserve Board members and the presidents of 5 of the 12 regional banks. It meets monthly, with interim telephone conferences, and discloses decisions after 90 days, in broad outline. These decisions influence whether money is easy or tight, and whether the economy will speed up or slow down.

Hearings proposed

The issue now is whether Messrs. Proxmire and Reuss can require Dr. Burns to end the 90-day lag and explore future policies. The Senate Banking Committee proposes three days of hearings April 29-May 1, the first two getting opinions from independent experts and the third from Dr. Burns. Three months later the Reuss House committee will resume the interrogation.

A little political levity is allowed in Budapest

By Eric Bourne
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Budapest—The two most popular shows in town are the political cabaret Microscope and a new Western-style rock musical called "I Am 30."

To most Westerners the two represent nothing out of the ordinary. But for East Europeans, accustomed to living with tight controls on their cultural lives, these shows are most avant-garde.

The show at Microscope, playing to a sold-out house through the winter, touches deftly on the Budapest scene — including a comic impersonation of Hungary's Communist leader, Janos Kadar.

The act is not especially political, nor in any way aggressive. But everyone who goes says it accurately reflects Mr. Kadar's public image — unassuming, quiet, slightly quizzical.

Portrayal televised

Hungary is the only East-bloc country where any caricature or portrayal of the party chief would be tolerated. Microscope was televised New Year's Eve and Mr. Kadar reportedly watched and chuckled.

"I Am 30" opened March 14 and played to a packed, enthusiastic audience through the following week of the Hungarian Party congress. The show deals with contrasts between Hungary's post-World War II — and often questioning — generation and their predecessors who lived through two world wars and the Nazi-fascist years in between.

Built from documents, newspaper

reports, and interviews, it is reminiscent in places of "Hair" and "West Side Story." Director, writer, and lyricist Laszlo Marton is 32 and the 21 lively blue-jeaned performers are all in their 20s. The men have long hair and wear trendy clothes.

Liberalization untouched

Asserting the freedom of Hungary's socialist democracy, Mr. Kadar remarked to the party congress that no one, for example, interfered with youth sporting long hair.

All this suggests to a visiting observer that Hungary's moderate liberalization is not — thus far — greatly affected by the new emphasis on stricter ideology. Nor is it threatened by orthodox party condemnation of innovation in literature and demands for a vanguard of creative persons in the arts more concerned with helping to build socialism.

The new party program roundly rejects all misinterpretation of fundamental ideology and unequivocally affirms the leading role of the working class and its party at every point. In education, Marxist-Leninist teaching is being stiffened.

Journalists report a closer watch now on the media, especially television, which has to be much more circumspect than before in dealing with the more politically touchy areas of current problems.

But in terms of actual sanctions, the past year's insistence on ideological toing-and-froing has meant no more than some party expulsions, occasional seizures of suspect writings, a few arrests and brief detentions, and, in one case, a trial in which only a short, suspended sentence was given.

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2 More than a third of Principia's students receive financial aid through Principia.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3 Principia College doesn't have varsity athletics.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4 Principia College's football team travels to Tennessee, Mississippi, Indiana, and Kentucky.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5 Principia College competes only against dinky schools.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6 This year Principia's waterpolo team beat Purdue, Michigan State, and the University of Illinois.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7 Principia College is out of touch with the world.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8 This year about 150 Principia students will have studied in England, France, Italy, Germany, Mexico, Israel, Southeast Asia, Washington, D.C.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9 Principia College offers only a handful of science courses.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10 Principia College offers a Bachelor of Science degree, with majors in Physics, Chemistry, Math, Geology, Biology, and Environmental Science.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Answers: If you marked 1, 3, 5, 7 and 9 false and 2, 4, 6, 8 and 10 true, you are a real smarty. If you missed a few, don't worry about it. Just send us this quiz with any questions, plus your name and address. And we'll send you more information about Principia, or help arrange for a visit if you want to learn more about it firsthand.

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La C.I.A. et le sous-marin

Était-ce stupidité et gaspillage ? Ou bien habileté et justification ?

Le sauvetage organisé par la C.I.A. (Central Intelligence Agency) d'une section d'un sous-marin soviétique pourrait servir de scénario à un film série noire. Les manchettes de journaux en ont oublié le Cambodge et les problèmes économiques et à n'en pas douter cette opération aura, quand on en parlera, un air d'histoire mystérieuse constituant un agréable changement d'avec les sombres nouvelles de cette période.

Seuls des experts des services secrets seront à même de répondre pleinement aux questions ci-dessus. Mais à première vue la C.I.A. se livrait là à une opération figurant d'habitude dans ses prérogatives.

Ici nous sommes loin de la chute forcée de gouvernements légitimes ou d'assassinats. Il s'agissait en fait de recueillir des renseignements, ce qui constitue, comme beaucoup l'exigent aujourd'hui, le domaine exclusif de la C.I.A. Bien que l'opération Jennifer n'ait pas réussi, elle n'en avait pas moins pour but officiel d'obtenir des informations quant aux systèmes de missiles et de codes utilisés par l'Union soviétique. Sans l'ombre d'un doute, si les Russes avaient eu la chance de tomber sur quelque vaisseau américain à propulsion nucléaire, ils auraient sauté sur l'occasion !

La détente, les Américains s'en souviennent, ne met pas un terme à l'antagonisme des relations existant entre Washington et Moscou. Les deux nations mènent un programme extrêmement poussé d'espionnage et de contre-espionnage clandestin. Si les États-Unis n'utilisaient pas tous les moyens possibles et raisonnables à leur disposition en vue de déterminer la force et les intentions soviétiques, ce serait une négligence extrême.

En outre, beaucoup admireront la prévoyance dont a usé la C.I.A. en mettant au point un bâtiment si technologiquement avancé au service du réseau des renseignements. Le « Glomar Explorer », prévu pour explorer et creuser les grands fonds, parcourait depuis longtemps les

océans à la recherche de nodules minéraux et personne, y compris les Russes, ne soupçonnait son autre mission.

Que l'opération Jennifer vaille ou non les immenses dépenses encourues, est matière à discussion ; les commissions que le Congrès a chargé d'examiner la C.I.A. par le menu, vont nécessairement étudier la question. Peut-être, après tout, cette opération était-elle une erreur. Toutefois, ce navire américain ne saurait être considéré comme une perte totale. Bien que le voile ait été levé et qu'on ne puisse s'en servir comme source de renseignements, on dit que le « Glomar Explorer » est accessoirement d'un énorme potentiel en ce qui concerne le développement des ressources maritimes.

Beaucoup se préoccupent cependant davantage du rôle joué par le grand industriel Howard Hughes dont le nom est venu plusieurs fois en surface à propos de certaines activités ayant trait à l'affaire du Watergate. Les divers liens existant entre lui et la C.I.A. l'ont-ils protégé en lui évitant une enquête officielle portant sur ses mystérieuses affaires commerciales et industrielles ? La C.I.A. aurait-elle gratifié Howard Hughes d'un boni ?

Préoccupation plus vaste encore : se peut-il que la colère qui se déchaîne actuellement contre la C.I.A. parvienne à discréditer totalement cet organisme ? A l'heure actuelle la mode veut que l'on rende publics, le plus vilain côté et les décisions douteuses de la C.I.A. qui ont d'ailleurs eu en général l'approbation présidentielle ; il ne faut toutefois pas oublier de porter au crédit de la C.I.A. les succès qu'elle a obtenus. Le pays a besoin d'un puissant organisme de renseignements ; ce serait rendre un bien mauvais service aux États-Unis que de ne pas conserver une perspective bien équilibrée en cette matière, cependant que se poursuivent les présentes enquêtes sur la C.I.A.

[Cet article a paru en anglais dans le Monitor du 20 mars, à la dernière page.]

Der CIA und das russische U-Boot

War es dumm und verschwenderisch ? Oder klug und zu rechtfertigen ?

Ein Film könnte darüber gedreht werden, wie der amerikanische Geheimdienst CIA einen Teil eines gesunkenen sowjetischen U-Boots barg. Diese Nachricht hat Kambojscha und die Wirtschaftslage aus den Schlagzeilen verdrängt und wird zweifellos als geheimnisvolle Geschichte zum Gesprächsstoff werden — eine Abwechslung von den düsteren Nachrichten heutzutage.

Nur die Experten des Geheimdienstes können die obigen Fragen voll und ganz beantworten. Doch auf den ersten Blick operierte der CIA durchaus in seinem Aufgabenbereich.

Es läßt sich bei weitem nicht mit dem Sturz legitimer Regierungen oder mit Mordanschlägen vergleichen. Es war ein Akt, auf den sich der CIA, wie so viele Stimmen nun fordern, beschränken sollte — auf das Sammeln geheimer Nachrichten. Wenn auch die Aktion Jennifer fehlschlug, ihr Zweck war, wie öffentlich erklärt wurde, Informationen über die Fernlenkgeschosse und das Codesystem der Sowjetunion einzuholen. Wenn sich den Russen die Möglichkeit böte, die Hand auf ein atomgetriebenes Schiff der Vereinigten Staaten zu legen, würden sie nicht sofort die Gelegenheit wahrnehmen ?

Die Amerikaner sollten daran erinnert werden: die Entspannung ändert nichts daran, daß die Sowjetunion und die USA Gegner sind. Beide Länder treiben aktiv Spionage und Gegenspionage. Es wäre äußerst nachlässig, wenn die USA sich nicht aller möglichen und vernünftigen Mittel bedienten, um die Stärke und die Absichten der Sowjetunion herauszufinden.

Außerdem wird die Weitsichtigkeit des CIA, solch ein technologisch fortschrittliches Schiff für Spionagewecke entwickelt zu haben, von vielen bewundert werden. Schon lange Zeit hat die Glomar Explorer als

Hochseeschiff die Meere durchstreift, um nach Erzlagern zu suchen, und niemand, auch nicht die Russen, ahnten ihre andere Aufgabe.

Ob das Projekt Jennifer an sich die hohen Kosten rechtfertigte, ist eine Streitfrage, die wohl durch den Kongreßausschuß geprüft werden wird, der gegenwärtig den CIA unter die Lupe nimmt. Es ist möglich, daß man die Sache falsch beurteilt hatte. Doch das Schiff ist gewiß kein totaler Verlust. Wenn auch der Deckmantel abgenommen wurde und das Schiff nicht mehr für Spionagewecke eingesetzt werden kann, soll es in bezug auf die Entwicklung der Naturschätze von ungeheurer unvorhergesehenem Wert sein.

Von größerer Bedeutung für viele ist die Rolle des Industrialisten Howard Hughes, dessen Name wiederholt im Zusammenhang mit Watergate erwähnt wurde. Haben seine Verbindungen zum CIA ihn davor bewahrt, daß der Staat seine mysteriösen Geschäftsunternehmungen untersucht ? Hat der CIA eine günstige Gelegenheit für ihn finanziert ?

Von umfassender Bedeutung ist, daß durch das Aufsehen, das der CIA im Augenblick erregt hat, der Geheimdienst völlig in Mißkredit geraten wird. Es ist gegenwärtig Mode, die schlechteren Seiten und die fragwürdigen Urteile des CIA — die gewöhnlich mit Zustimmung des Präsidenten getroffen werden — zu veröffentlichen; man sollte jedoch nicht vergessen, daß dem CIA auch Erfolge zu seinem Verdienst angerechnet werden müssen. Das Land braucht einen starken Geheimdienst, und es würde den USA zum Nachteil gereichen, wenn der CIA bei den gegenwärtigen Untersuchungen der Organisation nicht objektiv betrachtet würde.

[Die englische Fassung dieses Artikels der Schriftleitung erschien auf der letzten Seite der Ausgabe vom 20. März.]

Lutemakers catching up with music

By the Associated Press

Bellingham, Wash.

Since the Middle Ages there has been music for the lute, but John Rollins has spent much of his last three years making lutes for the music.

"More than 30,000 pieces of music have been written for the lute," he says. "Some of them have not been played for hundreds of years, simply because there has been no one to play them and nothing to play them on."

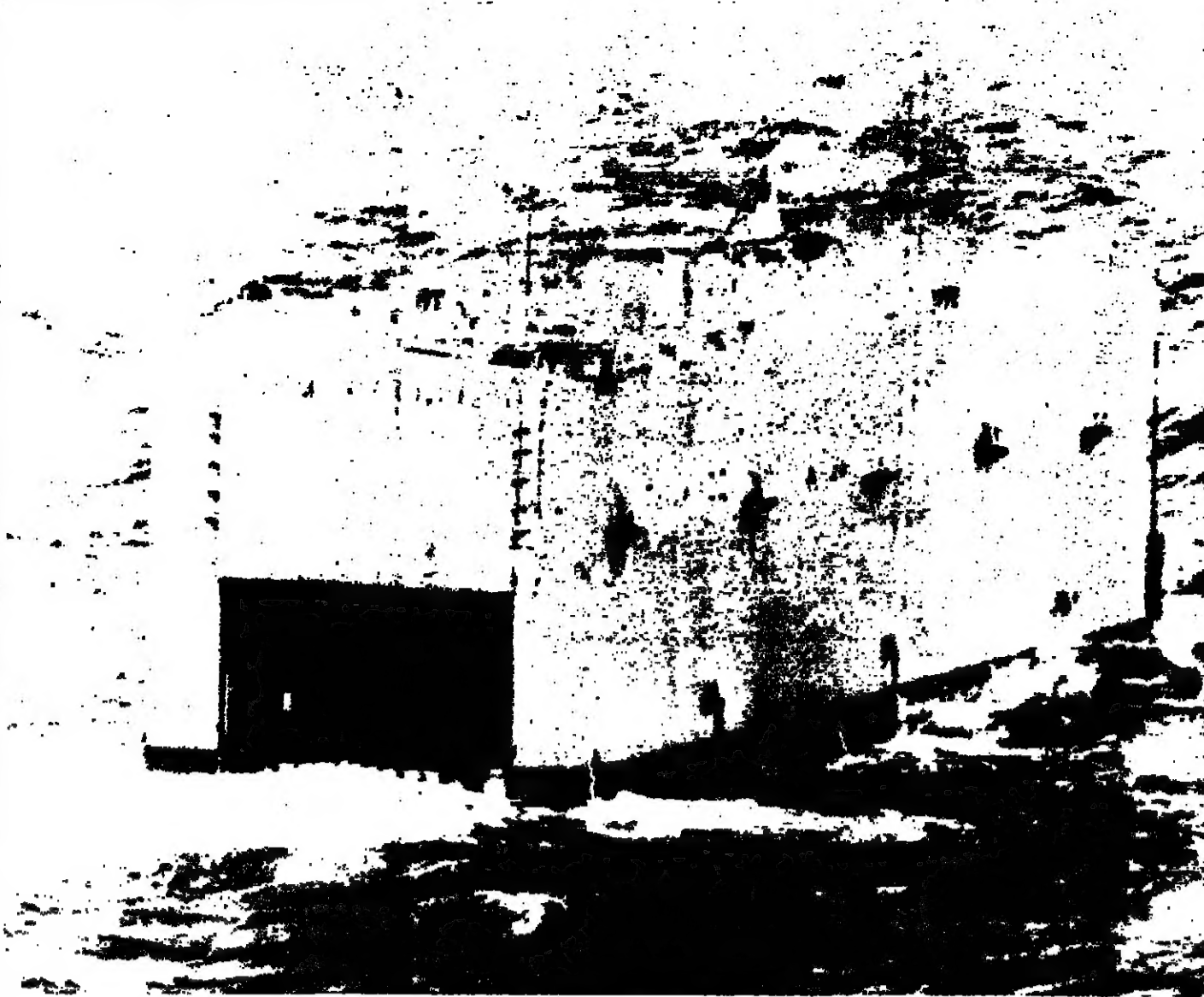
The lute resembles a large mando-

lin and was incorporated in European culture around the 13th century.

But it undoubtedly was around before then, brought from the Middle East where it originated.

About three years ago, Mr. Rollins found a piece of lute music he tried to play on his guitar. He wondered what the tune would sound like played on the real thing, but soon found most existing lutes were in museums or belonged to concert performers.

So far he has built 12 lutes and says, "My first ones weren't all that good but now I can sell all I make to performers as well as dealers."



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AP photo

Australian oil hunt dragging

By Reuters

Sydney

Australia can provide 70 percent of its current oil needs from its own resources, but exploration has slowed to a virtual standstill even though imported oil costs about five times what it did 14 months ago.

Figures tell the story. In 1964 more than 300 wells were drilled; last year only 55.

Sir James Foots, president of the Australian Mining Industry Council, said recently that the number of exploration wells expected to be drilled this year would be about 40 percent less than last year.

The search and production of oil in Australia has been fraught with difficulties ever since the first strike in 1962.

Reserve estimate from 1973

Reserves of crude oil were estimated at 1.8 billion barrels at the end of 1973, the last period for which figures are available.

Exploration costs have totalled an estimated \$1.88 billion (U.S.). The last major oil discovery was seven years ago in the Bass Strait, the turbulent seas separating the states of Victoria and Tasmania, where Australia's major supplies are being drawn up from the sea bed. Production there totalled 60.8 million barrels in the six-month period to the end of last November.

Australian oil also flows in the Queensland Monaro and Alton fields; 60 miles and 100 miles west of Brisbane (a declining production area), and Barron Island in the Indian Ocean off Australia's Northwest Coast.

Other fields have been prospected in the Cooper Basin region, straddling Queensland and South Australia, and in the Amadeus Basin in the center of Australia south and west of Alice Springs.

But natural gas, rather than oil, dominates the current Australian scene. Huge actual and potential supplies have been discovered.

Continental shelf valuable

The biggest untapped reserves lie on the continental shelf off Western Australia, waiting to be brought ashore and fed into a natural gas pipeline grid costing an estimated \$800 million (U.S.) which the government plans as a way of providing all major cities with industrial and domestic fuel.

For Australia, oil and natural gas have never been easy to discover and exploit.

Oilmen and geologists have had to battle against some of the worst climatic conditions in the world to find and drill for the reserves.

With the exception of the Bass Strait supplies, oil, like natural gas, has to be transported vast distances from the harsh unpopulated "outback" or from offshore fields that lie hundreds, sometimes thousands, of miles from the major population centers of Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Adelaide, and Perth.

The major international oil companies are reported to be waiting for Australia's high court to deliver judgment on a test case.

Rights still disputed

The federal government is claiming rights to all mineral resources on the continental shelf and is being opposed by the states.

If the federal government wins title to the riches of the shelves — particularly the northwest — the "majors" are expected to go ahead in concert with Canberra with major exploration drilling that could end the current

inactivity in Australia's oil and gas searches.

A recent survey of oil companies by the Australian Petroleum Exploration Association (APEA) placed the major blame for the rapid decline in exploration and drilling operations in the last decade on the country's "adverse political climate."

Another cause was said to be inadequate incentives, through the pegging of prices far below those of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).

Other problems revealed by the survey were "service difficulties" and inability by small Australian

exploration and producer companies to raise essential capital funds in the tight-money market as a result of the general business decline.

Cuba's waiters to look more casual

By Reuters

Havana

Cuba's waiters should provide quicker service and cast off their stuffy black jacket image, tourism director Vivian Coll has ruled.

He said their clothes should be brightened up with the "gay colors of our country."

The director told a meeting of the National Institute of the Tourist Industry, which controls all the island's hotels and restaurants, that good service had to be swift nowadays.

Visitors find it hard to reconcile the formal appearance of Cuba's waiters with the image of a tropical country swept by an egalitarian revolution, the director said.

Europeans offered cut of F-16 sales

By Reuters

Washington

The United States has offered a new inducement to four European countries to choose the new F-16 fighter over European-built rival planes, government sources say.

The offer was made when representatives of a four-nation consortium — Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, and Denmark — visited the U.S. last week.

The sources described as "quite favorable" the chances that the consortium will buy the F-16 rather than the French Mirage or Swedish Viggen.

\$3-billion cost

Under the new offer the consortium would be able to share in the production of all F-16s sold to governments around the world — an estimated 2,000 planes.

The earnings from this deal would more than cover the near-\$3-billion cost of the 350 planes the consortium plans to buy for its own air forces.

Under the previous U.S. offer, the consortium would have made parts for 1,000 planes to be sold worldwide, as well as for its own 350 and the 850 to be bought by the U.S. Air Force.

Even that deal would have enabled the four countries to recoup their own aircraft costs. The new offer would allow them to make a profit.

Under the arrangement, the consortium would manufacture parts amounting to 10 percent of the value of the American F-16s, 40 percent of its own aircraft, and 15 percent of those sold to other countries.

In addition the four countries would do all the assembly work on their own planes.

Because of the vast sales potential of the F-16 the makers, General Dynamics Corporation, were said to have won "the contract of the century."

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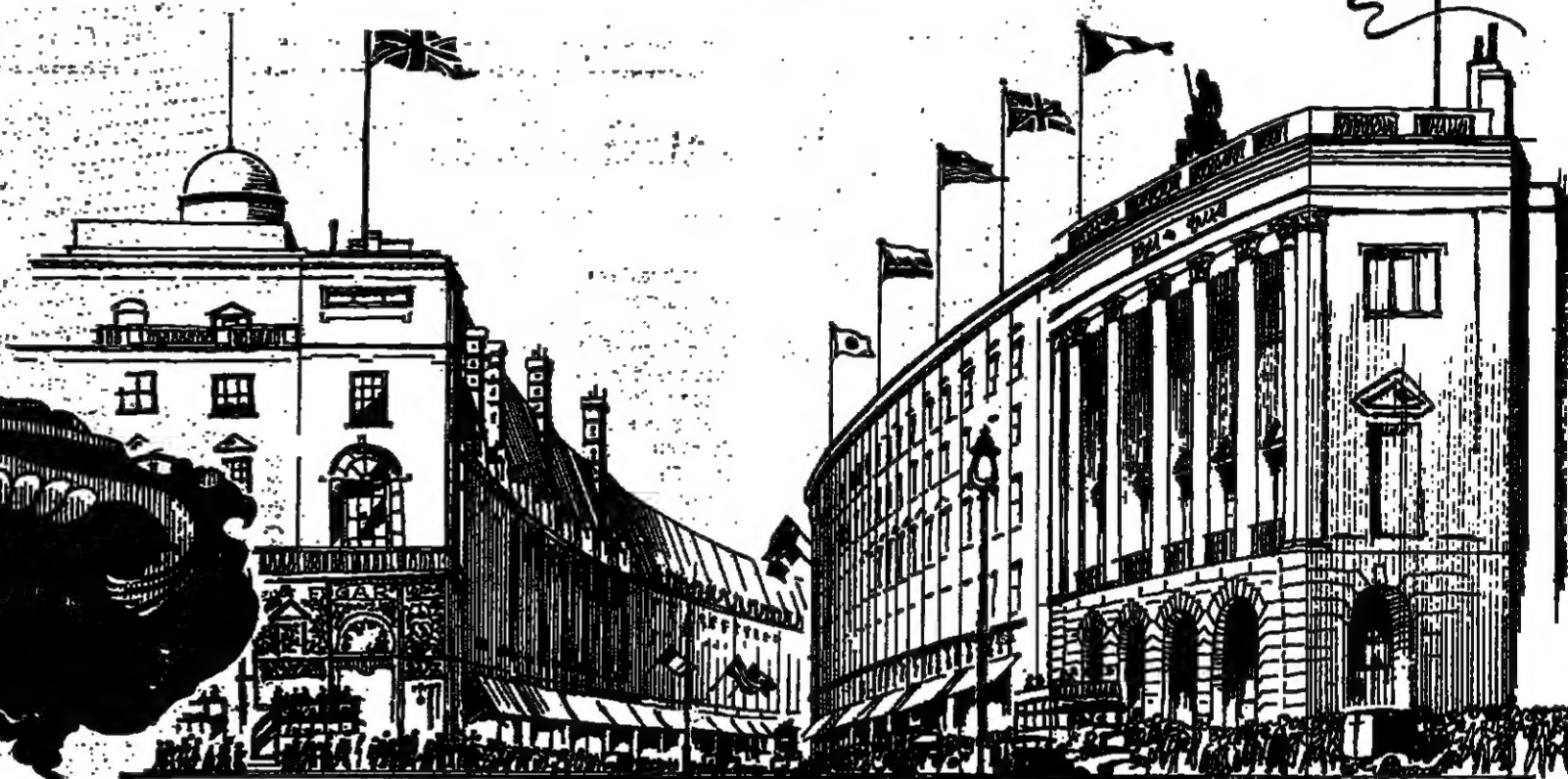
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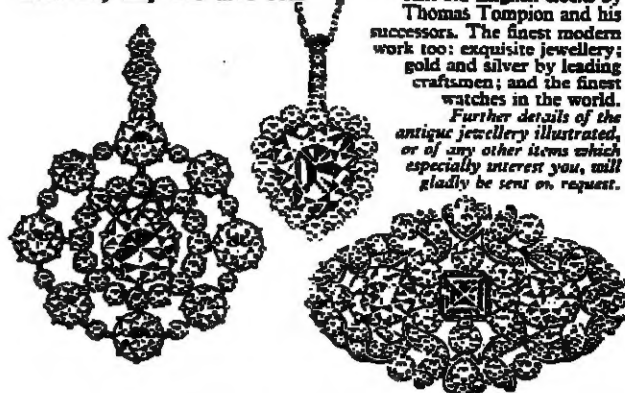
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EDITED BY BERTRAM B. JOHANSSON

Inside the news—briefly

WITH ANALYSIS
FROM MONITOR CORRESPONDENTS
AROUND THE WORLD

Morton to become secretary of commerce

Washington
Interior Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton is being reassigned to become secretary of commerce, an Interior Department spokesman said Thursday.



Rogers C. B. Morton

The spokesman said Secretary Morton's successor at Interior was undergoing the usual security-clearance checks, but would not be immediately identified. He said Mr. Morton would retain his position as chairman of the President's Cabinet-level Energy Policy Council.

Episcopal board fails to order trial

New York
An Episcopal Church board of inquiry has declined to order four bishops to stand trial for ordaining 11 women as priests last July 29. The board, by a vote of 8 to 2, said it lacked jurisdiction in the case, finding that it basically involved doctrine rather than church canons, or regulations. The board, in declining to act in the case, tossed the whole matter to the church's House of Bishops, which meets next September in Portland, Maine.

Drop in oil imports gives U.S. trade surplus

Washington
A sharp drop in oil imports left the nation's February trade accounts with the biggest monthly surplus on record. Observers said the news would help stabilize the declining value of the dollar overseas. The Commerce Department figures showed that total imports slipped 18.2 percent, overcoming by a wide margin a 6.6 percent drop in exports.

The result was a \$719 million trade surplus. The figure marked a sharp reversal of January's \$210.5 million deficit.

January's sharp rise in oil imports to a record 285 million barrels, attributed to importers' eagerness to beat a Feb. 1 increase in import tariffs by \$1 a barrel, was the primary factor in that deficit. The drop in February imports to 156 million barrels was an apparent response to the buildup of stocks in January.

SEC files complaint against Hughes

San Francisco
The Securities and Exchange Commission filed a complaint in federal court Thursday against reclusive billionaire Howard Hughes, alleging violation of federal securities laws in his purchase of Air West in December, 1968.

The complaint filed in U.S. District Court alleges that in August, 1968, Mr. Hughes and his Summa Corporation offered to purchase the assets of Air West and "undertook an illicit publicity effort to influence the directors and shareholders to vote in favor of the Hughes offer."

It said that among other things the publicity described in highly favorable terms the benefits of the Hughes offer, indicated that failure to accept it would have adverse financial consequences for Air West, and that shareholders would get \$22 a share from Hughes.

The SEC alleges the publicity was false and misleading because it failed to disclose that because of Air West's inability to comply with a net-worth condition of the offer, shareholders would receive, if anything, far less than \$22 a share.

UN chief protests newspaper story

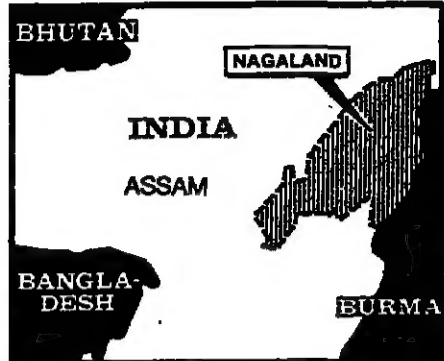
United Nations, N.Y.
UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim Thursday disowned views attributed to him by a Vienna newspaper, which quoted him as criticizing Dr. Henry A. Kissinger's style of diplomacy. "The Secretary-General is astonished at the views apparently attributed to him in an article in Die Presse of Vienna on March 26," Mr. Waldheim said in a press statement. He said the article presumably was based on a conversation he had with a

representative of that newspaper March 20.

Die Presse quoted the Secretary-General as having said that nobody should be surprised at the collapse of the 1973 Vietnam peace accords worked out by Dr. Kissinger, and as having criticized the U.S. Secretary of State's approach to the Cyprus crisis.

New Delhi takes over border state reins

New Delhi
The northeast Indian state of Nagaland, which has just been placed under direct presidential rule after political turmoil, lies in a sensitive and vital strategic position close to China.



This closeness to India's giant neighbor could well have been a prime reason for the decision on March 22 to suspend Nagaland's Assembly, disrupted by political infighting, and impose direct rule from Delhi.

Nagaland is a remote and tiny jungle-clad mountain region of some 6,000 square miles with a population of 515,000, mostly Christian. It was sliced off from the state of Assam and granted statehood within the Indian union in 1960. Ever since, India has been worried by the "Chinese connection."

Nixon official discounts effects of poppy ban

Washington
The Nixon administration exaggerated the impact of the ban on Turkish poppy cultivation on the U.S. drug problem, former President Nixon's chief drug official testified here. Dr. Jerome Jaffe, director of the White House special action group on drug abuse in the Nixon administration, told a Senate subcommittee he advised

administration officials the ban had only limited value, but he said White House officials considered it a diplomatic coup.

Sen. Birch Bayh (D) of Indiana told the panel he believes it was significant that the U.S.-Turkey treaty banning opium production coincided with the 1972 presidential election campaign.

The 1971 agreement providing for the phase-out of poppy growing in Turkey in exchange for U.S. compensation was hailed by the Nixon administration as an example of how to nip the heroin problem at the source. Turkey last year lifted the ban on poppy cultivation.

Navy woman given Medal for Heroism

Washington
Navy Ensign Deborah Burnette has been awarded the Navy's Medal for Heroism, becoming the first Navy woman to receive the second highest non-combat award.

The 23-year old native of Cleveland, Tennessee, was awarded the medal by Navy Secretary William Middendorf for risking her life recently by pulling a small child from the path of a speeding car.

Ensign Burnette was injured in a fall during the rescue, but the child was unharmed.

U.S. to issue guidelines on layoffs of minorities

Washington
The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is moving to protect the jobs of women and minorities who frequently are the first to be laid off during hard times.

At a news conference Wednesday, acting EEOC chairman Ethel Bent Walsh said the commission has decided to issue guidelines for employers even though the layoff issue is now before the federal courts.

She declined to discuss the proposed rules, but sources said they would require employers who want to lay off workers to avoid firing a disproportionate number of women and minority workers by adopting other cost-saving measures, such as work-sharing plans or less overtime.

The acting chairman said a vote by the commission on the final draft was delayed until April 15 to allow for comment by officials of other federal

If approved by the EEOC, the guidelines would then be published in the Federal Register and time would be allowed for public comment before they became effective.

No new freeways, California decides

Los Angeles
California, which boasts some of the world's finest freeways, has put the lid on any future freeway construction, writes Monitor correspondent David Winder.

Money (inflation forced up construction costs more than 40 percent last year) and environmental considerations play a large part in that decision, but the ban on new freeway construction also reflects the desire of Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr.'s administration to improve transit facilities.

Donald E. Burns, state Secretary of Business and Transportation said present plans called for linking bits and pieces of California's planned 12,500-mile freeway network, "but, as for starting any new freeways, I just don't see it happening."

Proxmire criticizes illegal medicaid pay

Washington
The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare will pay out more than \$600 million in 1975 for illegal medicaid benefits, Sen. William Proxmire said Thursday.



Sen. William Proxmire

Senator Proxmire said the overpayments will be made despite proposed new medicaid rules he said are aimed at reducing an ineligible rate now running at 20 percent.

He said the major problems include the lack of verification of a patient's resources, the automatic renewal of a patient's eligibility without looking for possible changes in his status, and billing for services when the eligibility of the patient never has been determined.

MINI-BRIEFS

Two blasts in California

A series of plastic devices exploded at midnight Wednesday at a Pacific Gas & Electric Company substation in San Jose, Calif., disrupting service to 35,000 homes. About 2 1/2 hours later a bomb exploded in a building that houses the FBI office in Berkeley, about 50 miles to the north. The FBI said. A group calling itself the Red Guerrilla Family claimed responsibility for the bomb. There were no injuries.

S. Carolina tables ERA

The South Carolina House of Representatives has killed hopes that South Carolina would ratify the proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution this year. The House, after almost no debate, voted 46 to 43 Wednesday to table a measure ratifying the amendment, which would prohibit discrimination because of sex.

Strong quake hits Turks

A strong earthquake hit northwest Turkey on both sides of the Strait of the Dardanelles early Thursday and local officials reported "considerable" damage and probable loss of life.

A-plant check ordered

The U.S. Government has given nine nuclear power plants 20 days to uncover potential equipment problems at their installations. The order by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission became known following a fire in Athens, Ala., Saturday that caused \$10 million damage to the nation's largest commercial atomic generating plant.

Congressmen traveling

With Congress in recess, two high-level parties of House members are headed for mainland China and the Middle East. Delayed by legislative tangles on the tax cut bill, House Speaker Carl Albert (D) of Oklahoma and Minority Leader John J. Rhodes (R) of Arizona left for China early Thursday.

Metric units in Canada

Canada officially begins its five-year conversion to the metric system from the old imperial weights and measures on April 1. Officials in Ottawa say public usage is voluntary.

*Turkey mulls U.S. bases

Continued from Page 1

Other American military installations that in Ankara's view are of more American than of joint or NATO interest would follow next.

As to the major so-called common defense installations, Turkish officials say "all will depend on the new trend of American-Turkish relations."

One of the concrete results achieved by U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger during his recent visit to Ankara was to obtain Turkey's agreement to give the Ford administration time to try to persuade Congress to end the embargo.

"We have refrained from any hasty action because things may reach a point of no return once we put certain measures into force," Mr. Eisenbel told me.

"We shall wait till the end of April and we hope that Congress will take a decision by then. But it must be understood that we cannot wait indefinitely."

Arms sales banned

The embargo, which took effect Feb. 5, not only halts military aid but also bans the sale to Turkey of all U.S. military hardware. The Turks see this as a violation of their common-defense agreements with the U.S., which commit the U.S. to supply military equipment to this NATO ally.

The Turkish Government has made clear to the U.S. authorities that it is not so much interested in resumption of the "aid," which is relatively small, as in the lifting of the embargo



By Joan Forbes, staff cartographer

on the sale of arms on a commercial basis.

American diplomats here believe that the effect on American-Turkish relations of a continued embargo would be "disastrous." It could also undermine U.S. efforts to help bring about a solution of the Cyprus problem.

Other sources

Turkish officials and political leaders say that if the embargo is not lifted, Turkey will have to "seek new sources" for its military requirements. The Turks are already negotiating with some NATO countries to obtain certain arms supplies, and the recent decision by West Germany to resume arms shipments to Turkey (Bonn imposed an arms ban on Greece and Turkey after the Cyprus war last summer) was welcomed here.

The Turks also are determined to go ahead with plans to build a new defense industry. (There is even some work on the possibility of manufacturing nuclear weapons). They intend to obtain some of the large funds needed for this from oil-rich Arab countries, with which Ankara now is cultivating a new special relationship.

*Kissinger and the era of U.S. pullback

Continued from Page 1

The period came to an end with the Nixon Doctrine which called for contraction of the frontiers and a defensive strategy. Essentially the Nixon Doctrine contemplated a fallback of American power from the mainland of Asia, and reliance everywhere on air and sea power rather than on land power.

Difficult to execute

But this process of going over from a forward to a defensive national strategy is extremely difficult to execute. It means distress around the fringes. The loss of one client makes all the others uneasy. On the frontiers, no one can be quite sure where the contraction is going to end. If

Washington lets Cambodia and Vietnam go, who else may be abandoned?

President Nixon had hoped to control the change-over. So did Secretary Kissinger. But the condition was fragile — too fragile to sustain without damage the impact of the 1974 oil shortage or the American sense of priorities. The result is a deterioration around the fringes of the area of American influence which is likely to continue until those frontiers can be stabilized along new, shorter and (one hopes) strategically sounder lines.

The most difficult operation in power politics is the contraction of imperial frontiers. It is Washington's time to discover whether it can do what the Romans did, successfully, halfway through their imperial history.

*Oil firms see setback

Continued from Page 1

Even if people save their rebates, or pay off old bills, said Mr. Murray, the result still will be stimulative, because of what he called the "multiplier effect."

More mortgage money

Money put into savings — and he predicted the "savings rate will leap way up in the second quarter" — will allow thrift institutions to loan more mortgage money. Money used to pay off loans will be respent by the creditors.

"Even if we shortchange the first stage by saving," concluded Mr. Murray, "spending will come in the second round."

He hailed the fact that the final bill, while providing a quick stimulus, does not "mortgage tax receipts in the future," as the Senate version would have done. The Senate bill would have reduced U.S. Treasury receipts in future years, thus adding to federal budget deficits and putting pressure on "monetary policy to be overly expansionary."

Enduring effect seen

Some stimulative aspects of the tax-cut bill, said Joseph A. Pechman, director of economic studies at the Brookings Institution, "may be enduring," since reductions in 1975 tax rates "likely will continue, in one form or another."

Also, he noted, Congress raised the investment-tax credit for business — in effect reducing business taxes and freeing capital for investment — for two years, not one.

Details of bill

The tax bill includes individual tax cuts with rebates ranging from \$100 to \$200; a \$30 credit on 1975 taxes for every taxpayer and each member of his family; a \$50 onetime payment to every social-security recipient; an increase in the 1975 standard deduction; and up to \$2,000 tax credit on new-home purchases between March 13 and Dec. 31, 1975.

Cuts in individual taxes amounted to \$18.1 billion; business-tax cuts to \$4.8 billion; and increased spending of \$4.9 billion for extended unemployment benefits and social-security payments, and business tax increases \$2 billion.

*Thieu tries to regroup demoralized army

Continued from Page 1

On the military front, while public attention focused on the stunning withdrawals and retreats of government troops in the northernmost sector, the attention of some intelligence officers was riveted on North Vietnamese troop movements and clashes closer to Saigon. Major battles appeared to be in the making north and northwest of the capital around Tay Ninh city, 65 miles from Saigon, and the towns of Chon Thanh and Xuan Loc, only 45 miles away. Some military observers expected the fighting in these areas to escalate into massive clashes involving tens of thousands of troops.

Hasty evacuation

In the northernmost part of the country, the First Infantry Division, long considered one of the best in the South Vietnamese Army, a few days ago began fleeing in disorder from its positions around Hue. During their hasty evacuation, the troops appeared to have abandoned almost all of their artillery pieces. It was an inglorious retreat for the First Division, which had fought for several years to defend the approaches to Hue.

A good number of First Division troops survived and took evacuation boats from the beaches near Hue. But when the first of these troops stepped off the boats in Da Nang, there were

no officers available to regroup them. Presumably an attempt will be made to rebuild parts of the division, since so many of its men are still alive. But for the moment at least the leadership required to do this seemed to be lacking.

Chaotic situation

In the view of most military analysts, Hue could not have been defended effectively with the forces the government had available. The North Vietnamese troops moving into the area outnumbered them by as much as 2-to-1.

Indecision on the part of President Thieu apparently contributed to the chaotic situation that developed in and around Hue. The President was said by well-informed sources to have changed his mind several times as to whether he should try to make a stand at Hue. This confused commanding

officers on the battlefield who were trying to cope with both rapid North Vietnamese troop movements and the fears and uncertainties of their outnumbered troops.

Flag hoisted

The Saigon government still has not officially conceded the loss of Hue. But one had only to look at the ragged troops pouring into Da Nang to know that it had been abandoned. The communists announced that on Wednesday they had hoisted their flag over the citadel at Hue.

It was after Hue clearly had been lost that President Thieu issued an "order of the day" calling on his troops to defend the lines they held and to counterattack. In this message to the troops the President seemed to recognize that he had a morale problem on his hands when he specifically instructed them to observe orders and to maintain strict discipline.

*Art—by the mile—stretches through pastures to the sea

Continued from Page 1

other local critics, she argues "Running Fence" will set a precedent for developers to move in on agriculturally zoned land. Even though Christo says he will hire 80 guards and cleanup men, some are concerned that hordes of unruly tourists will litter country roads and perhaps cause grass fires.

Whether it is art, theater, or — as some allege — a "gigantic put-on," the board of supervisors of both counties recently approved "running fence," after lengthy, often heated hearings. Christo's supporters say these victories make favorable action likely from the State Lands Commission and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, both of which must approve the project.

Museum directors back

Despite skepticism over how a long white cloth fence can really be art, Christo's work has many supporters with good credentials, including directors of several American and European museums. At one hearing, Peter Selz, an art professor at the University of California, Berkeley, testified, "Part of the fence's beauty is that you can't see it all from any one place."

But slim, intense, bespectacled Christo and his French-born wife Jeanne-Claude, were perhaps their

most articulate spokesmen while in Petaluma recently to argue their case before the Sonoma County Board of Supervisors and pay courtesy calls on the 59 ranchers who agreed to let the project cross their property.

"This is the art of the 20th Century because the process of creating it brings in political and social issues of our time, just as medieval art brought in religious themes that were important then," Christo explained at his motel.

Advance orders for sketches and models from the planning and construction phases of the two-and-a-half-year-old project have already yielded almost \$1 million, according to the Javachoffs' lawyer Paul Kayetz. He says the nonprofit corporation will be dissolved once the capital is raised, and that the Javachoffs will make no income and pay no taxes on the project.

As for the poles and the costly nylon fabric, each of the 59 ranchers will get to keep the material crossing his land, or sell it to a used material dealer. The fabric can be used to cover cattle feed and the poles could be handy for — fencing.

What will the Javachoffs string, drape, or package next? "Daring," says Jeanne-Claude, turning to her husband Christo, "I hope it will not have anything to do with cows. We have seen far too many of them here."

AMERICA'S FOUNDING FATHERS

6. JOHN DICKINSON

As part of its coverage of the U.S. bicentennial, the Monitor continues its lively look into the lives of 12 of the men who founded the nation 200 years ago. The articles, written by a veteran Washington correspondent, are appearing on this page twice a month through June.

By Richard L. Strout

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

The stars were unbelievably bright, and once a meteor fell. The young man looked into the night, listening to the creak and strain of the sails and wondering what London would be like. He was John Dickinson. He was 21, and the year was 1773. Would they laugh at his colonial wit?

He had trained in law with John Moland, leading member of the Philadelphia bar, and now was bound to the land of his dreams — England. To be precise, he passed four years at the Middle Temple in London and then returned to America where, by age 30, he had risen to eminence.

Take a good look at John Dickinson because he represents all the hesitations and ages of that large group of colonists who loved England but wanted to write their own taxes, who wanted independence, but not independence.

There was that incident, years later between John Dickinson and prickly John Adams of Massachusetts. It was at the Pennsylvania State House, where the Second Continental Congress was meeting. Dickinson, always the middle-roader, always the temporizer, had composed the so-called "Olive branch petition" addressed "To the King's Most Excellent Majesty: Most Gracious Sovereign, we, Your Majesty's faithful subjects in the colonies." It was humble enough, and passed the assembly.

Diary chronicles

The sequel was written in John Adams' diary, which he was always keeping when he wasn't rushing off letters to Abigail, his wife.

"I took my hat and went out of the door of Congress Hall. Mr. Dickinson observed me and darted out after me. He broke out upon me in a most abrupt and extraordinary manner: in as violent a passion as he was capable of feeling, and with an air, countenance, and gestures as rough and haughty as if I had been a schoolboy and he the master. He vociferated,

"What is the reason, Mr. Adams, that you New England men oppose our measures of reconciliation? ... Look ye, if you don't concur with us in our pacific system, I and a number of us will break off from you and New England, and we will carry on the opposition by ourselves in our own way."

"I own I was shocked by this magisterial salutation ... the determination of Congress in favor of the petition did not allay the irritation. ... I took my pen and wrote a very few lines to my wife, and about an equal number to General James Warren. ..."

The trouble was, the British caught the young man carrying Adams' irascible letter to Warren and straightaway published it in the Massachusetts Gazette. There was the deuce to pay. The irrepressible and curmudgeonly Adams had declared the Congress was "between hawk and buzzard"; that "we ought ... to have arrested every friend of government on the continent and held them as hostages for the poor victims in Boston, and then opened the door as wide as possible for peace and reconciliation. ..."

Trained to compromise

Of John Dickinson, Adams observed, "a certain great fortune and piddling genius whose fame has been trumpeted so loudly has given a silly cast to our whole doings. ..."

The letter stung the British by its vehemence, and as for Dickinson, when Congress reassembled the "piddling genius" would not speak to the Yankees.



By Albert J. Forbes, staff artist

Dickinson's problem was that he blew hot and cold; he was learned and trained to see both sides; he was a compromiser, a temporizer — a man who cast his vote against the Declaration of Independence yet took arms when the time came, who played an active and useful part a decade later in writing the Constitution but who somehow did not attend the final signing ceremony. There was immortality for any signatory of that great document, but Dickinson had gone home to Wilmington, leaving a letter with another delegate to sign for him. He just could not be bothered.

At one critical turning point, however, John Dickinson pushed the whole revolution forward. And he was the only man who could have done it. His contribution had to do with the legal basis on which the colonists rejected British taxation.

In December, 1787, the Pennsylvania Chronicle began publishing a series of anonymous letters "from a farmer in Pennsylvania." They were closely reasoned and lucidly expressed. They showed an

extraordinary breadth of knowledge of "trade" (which we call economics) and of British constitutional law. The author was reasonable and urged force only as a last resort. He was, of course, John Dickinson. He was only 35, illustrating again the amazing youth of a majority of the participants.

Trade but not taxes

Dickinson wrote what moderate Americans were arguing everywhere: The colonists claimed the rights and privileges of other British subjects, and, as such, they could not be constitutionally taxed without their consent. Yes, the Pennsylvania farmer argued, England has a right to regulate trade. But to tax?

"I answer with a total denial of power of Parliament to lay upon these colonies any 'tax' whatever." He urged economic pressure by merchants to achieve their rights.

They did not have syndicated newspaper columnists

in those days, but journals managed pretty well by stealing each other's articles. The day after the farmer's first letter appeared in the Chronicle, it appeared also in the Philadelphia Gazette, and it spread across the little country from paper to paper; in fact, there were only four colonial newspapers that did not use the series in whole or part.

And so the learned John Dickinson, who had sailed at 21 over to the Middle Temple to acquire erudition, saved Americans at a critical moment from a theoretical dilemma. He gave them a respectable underpinning of constitutional law. No previous writing had ever had such popularity in the colonies, and Dickinson, soon known as author, was the nation's idol — a situation sadly ironic as he lived to be one of the most maligned men in the country.

Soon it was too late for moderation. Parliament had asserted absolute power over the colonies, in the Declaratory Act of 1766. Slowly John Dickinson began to alter his views. The most potent persuader perhaps was Tom Paine's "Common Sense."

Adams noted change

John Adams noted the change in his old rival, Dickinson, in a characteristically acidulous letter to his old correspondent Warren, May 30, 1778:

"What do you think must be my reflections when I see the farmer Dickinson himself now confessing the falsehood of all his prophecies, and the truth of mine ... and confessing that the defense of the colonies and preparations for defense have been neglected, in consequence of fond delusive hopes and deceitful expectations?"

"I assure you this is no gratification of my vanity." For now a new force was working its fateful consequences, the power of the written word backed by action.

Dr. Franklin, over in Europe, had sent a young man named Tom Paine to his friend the versatile Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia. Paine, with characteristic impetuosity, flung himself into the fray. In January, 1776, began appearing the articles entitled "Common Sense"; within three months they had sold 120,000 copies.

Historians Henry Steele Commager and Richard Morris give their verdict of this remarkable document: "No other modern book has enjoyed a comparable sale, or a comparable influence, not 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' not 'Progress and Poverty.' Another writer says, it was 'precisely fitted to the hour, to the spot, to the passions of men. ... It was meant for plain men, in desperate danger, and desperately in earnest.' It appealed, in short, viscerally, as well as intellectually.

Conservatives pushed

Here are samples of the extraordinary hammer blows that were to excite a nation and push conservatives such as John Dickinson, at the last minute and reluctantly, into the revolutionary side:

Paine wrote that nature disapproves "the folly of hereditary kings. ... Otherwise she would not so frequently turn it into ridicule by giving mankind an ass for a lion."

"The nearer any government approaches to a republic, the less business there is for a king. ... Of more worth is one honest man to society, and in the sight of God, than all the crowned ruffians that ever lived."

"I challenge the warmest advocate of reconciliation to show a single advantage that the continent can reap from being connected with Great Britain."

"Europe is too thickly planted with kingdoms to be long at peace, and whenever a war breaks out between England and any foreign power, the trade of America goes to ruin, because of her connection with Britain."

"It is repugnant to reason, to the universal order of things, to all examples from former ages, to suppose that this continent can long remain subject to any external power."

"To be always running three or four thousand miles with a tale or a petition, waiting four or five months for the answer which, when obtained, requires five or six months to explain it in will, in a few years, be looked upon as folly and childishness. ..."

And the peroration: "O ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose not only tyranny but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her. Europe regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O receive the fugitive and prepare in time an asylum for mankind!"

Next: Samuel Adams — "character enough for two."



Panoramic novel from Maximov

Exiled Soviet writer accords Christianity a revitalizing role

The Seven Days of Creation, by Vladimir Maximov. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$10. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson. £3.50.

By Rufus Mathewson

Vladimir Maximov is a member of that brilliant company of writers, including Solzhenitsyn, Sinyavsky, and Brodsky, which has formed the new Russian literature-in-exile. Indeed, as editor-in-chief of the new periodical Kontinent, he stands at its very center, as its leading public spokesman. With the publication in

English of "The Seven Days of Creation," he now lays a major claim on our attention as a working writer.

The Soviet dissident writer who survives obloquy and persecution at home confronts another kind of threat when he goes into exile abroad; he must learn to control the sense of personal outrage he has brought with him when he sets out to convert his experience into art.

Maximov's new novel is a considerable achievement, but it illustrates, through its flaws, the dangers of incomplete control on this score, as its chronicle of precisely observed experience turns gradually into a parable. Or so it may appear to the relatively unengaged Western reader.

We realize that as outsiders we merely overhear this solemn extraliterary communication with the primary — the Soviet — reader which aims to generalize and clarify the common suffering in order to prepare the way for Russia's renewal as a moral community. The further temporizing Maximov has yielded to, and the other writers resist, is to show in his fiction a specific doctrinal way to that end — in this case, the reintegrating message of the Christian gospels.

Read as diagnoses of the nation's ills, Russian dissident fiction from Pasternak's "Doctor Zhivago" to Maximov's "Seven Days" has discovered a common historical pattern. It assumes that after 1917 a terrible affliction fell upon Russia, interrupting the normal flow of its history, disorienting its populace, and devastating its culture.

The novelists seek the origins of this historical seizure, and then the curative agents, if any, within the nation.

They agree in general on the course and consequence of the disease: in seizing and holding power the Bolsheviks have violated too many of the

Books

rules and principles of civilized life ever to restore them, if indeed they have any disposition — or can find any guidance in their doctrine — to do so.

Maximov illustrates this common pattern by describing scores of mislived or unlived lives. In this atmosphere which cannot support spiritual existence, his characters gasp for moral breath, burst with rage, thrash blindly in the voids they occupy, acquiesce in their own brutalization,

collapse into apathy and blankness.

Maximov documents this thesis in vivid detail, on a massive scale. We meet Soviet citizens on every level of society in a great variety of professions and occupations. We move through time from the Civil War to the present, and across space — through cities, farms, forests, from Moscow to Central Asia.

We cannot know what shocks of recognition this panorama will draw from Russian readers; for the Western reader, it is a version of Soviet life he may not have seen before — dirty language, quick sex, instant violence — upending, as it does, the glossy pieties of socialist realism. In these various settings character after character, with a regularity that verges on monotony, loses moral direction, and falls into prostitution, swindling, theft, violence, suicide, and invariably vodka, vodka, vodka.

Behind these wrecked lives we always sense the action of the intrusive, coercive, violative system which has set out with an arrogance matched by its ignorance to drive history forward at forced draft, to duplicate and correct the "eternal" process of creation in a few decades, and by any and all means.

A few characters escape the swamp of Soviet life by choosing existentially to refuse the system and to forge meaning out of their personal resources. We meet, among others, a Jew who has avoided anti-Semitism by working on remote construction projects, a theatrical director who has found in his reading of "Hamlet" an antidote to the constricted official art the system requires.

As the novel moves toward its resolution the role of virtue is increasingly taken by underground priests who preach a nonviolent revolution within the individual, which by spreading from one to another will redeem Russia from its Marxian seizure.

The destiny of three generations of an ordinary family forms the narrative skeleton. At the beginning the patriarch of the Lashkov family, a retired Communist, reviews his unsatisfactory life and resolves to search for the members of his fragmented family. In the record of his search, in the life histories of his two brothers, and of their progeny, and of the many they meet in their wanderings, we are conducted on our journey through the Soviet inferno.

At the end, the old man has collected a few battered survivors in a new family nucleus. With that, he repudiates his political past, and assumes a truly human existence as a link in the chain of generations. At the same time, under the influence of Christian teaching, he has discovered that he participates in the miraculous "unity of all living things," and faces the seventh day of his own re-creation as a day of "resurrection and hope."

When in the final — and most banal — pages he walks into the dawn, carrying his freshly diapered grandson in his arms, the sophisticated reader may want to back off, unpersuaded aesthetically of the leap from the squalid uproar of ordinary life to the single high note of doctrinal salvation. But from his distanced vantage, he may still grant credence to the novel as moving evidence of the bitter struggle between Russian writers and rulers, as the genuine, if flawed, product of outrage.

Rufus Mathewson, professor of Russian literature at Columbia University, is presently a Fellow at the Russian Research Center, Harvard University.

★ Bobby Fischer's chess warfare could lead to ex-champion status

In view of all this, it's difficult for chess observers to take too seriously the USCF position that Fischer is somehow the hero and the Russians the villains. Indeed, it gets harder and harder not to see it exactly the other way around.

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Your garden will bloom till frost with mums, asters

By Millicent Taylor
Written for
The Christian Science Monitor

For a long season flower garden, special thought needs to be given in the spring to planning for fall bloom. By then many of the spring and summer flowers have finished blooming or have begun to peter out.

It is true that the marigolds will continue their golden glory until heavy frost and certain other annuals will still be colorful along with perennials that have been cut back to yield a second blooming.

The late, late garden, however, can bloom with fresh interest if given over to chrysanthemums and hardy asters. Except for the continuously flowering marigolds, nothing can rival these two fall-flowering perennials that take over in September and October.

Hardy mums

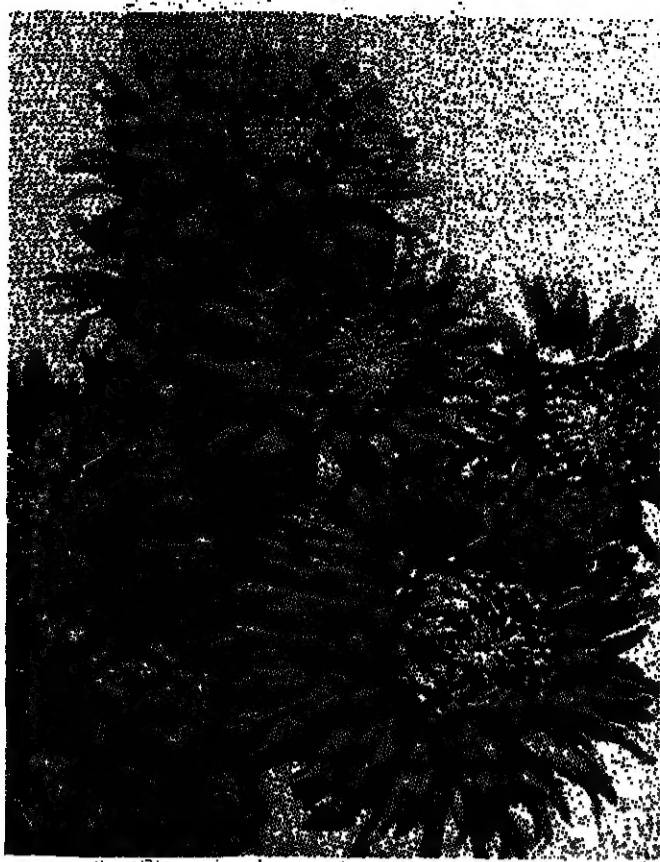
Backbone of the late garden are the hardy garden mums, constantly developed throughout recent years and weather resistant. Colors range from white through the yellows, pinks, to burnt orange and bronze, with a profusion of fully double blooms two inches and more across. By choosing varieties, one can have them coming into bloom from early September to early October until stopped by heavy frost.

New winter-hardy cushion mums from pure white to deep coppery red are offered by Wayside of Mentor, Ohio. These are mounds of bloom we used to set out in late summer when they appeared in the local nurseries. Cushion mums start blooming early in the season and continue until frost, with a profusion of flowers that simply cover the compact bushy mounds. These new ones have proved winter hardy in Cheyenne, Wyo. — a good test.

Most mail-order nurseries offer mum collections, an easy way to add some. Among these are the winsome button mums, and the fascinating Japanese-like spoons (long petals each tipped with a spoon, rather open flowers).

The so-called Minnesota mums, developed at the University of Minnesota, are extra early cushion types, and the Masterpiece mums, originated by Yoder Brothers of Ohio and now available even as far west as Oregon, come in both early and late bloomers and like the cushions are compact plants that don't need staking.

A handsome single-flowering mum that looks like a hardy aster is the rubellum strain. Clara Curtis, a



Hardy mums

Backbone of fall garden

salmon pink, and Royal Command, a rich wine red, are simply covered from August to frost with big daisy-like flowers on spreading bushy plants up to two feet high.

Colorful asters

The hardy asters provide all the pink, blue, lavender, mauve, and purple colors in the late garden. Daisy-like flowers in profusion with fluffy golden centers, they are all charming.

The tall ones, such as Frikart and Yunnanensis, two to three feet, can be a glory in the back of the border. The blooms are up to 2 1/2 inches across. The semi-dwarf Oregon Asters are about 15 inches high, the plants compact and covered with blooms from early September on.

The Dwarf Oregon can make a bank of bloom in the front of the border, blue, rose, lavender. Another favorite aster is the cultivated Michaelmas daisy or English hardy aster, in all the aster blues, pinks, lavenders, reds. They are not fussy as to soil and blend beautifully when planted with the mums. All hardy asters like plenty of moisture.

A perennial for the late, late garden that is too seldom grown is the plumbago or leadwort. Almost like a ground cover it grows only six to eight inches high, spreading to a clump up to 18 inches across. In late summer it is covered with clusters of bright blue flowers that last until hard frost.

In winter in the North give it some protection and it will last for years.

New research aims to save stately elm

By Ruth S. Foster
Written for
The Christian Science Monitor

Again this year, tree lovers watch the great elm leaf out and green, the promise of another summer to come.

Yet, before our dismayed eyes, many of these venerable giants will wilt and turn brown before the summer ends.

Some promising research is being done on the problem. Two drugs are being tested for prevention. They involve trunk or root injection, and are expensive. Both are still experimental.

Benomyl is being used by many universities for prevention of infection. Nystatin, an antibiotic, is injected into the trunk in other tests. It was hoped that one of these would actually cure infected trees. However, field testing did not prove as successful as that in the laboratory.

Another experiment

Another development is the isolation of the sex attractant (pheromone) of the elm bark beetle. Sprayed on a sticky substance, it makes an effective trap. Pilot programs are being tested.

Another substance, found in young elms, actually repels the beetle. It will bear further testing.

Cures have been hailed and later discarded in the struggle against the disease. For the latest results, one can contact the local forestry service or the Elm Research Institute in Harrisville, N.H.

Even if the latest treatments are applied, many trees still appear doomed. The hope is to cut the loss rate to an acceptable 5 percent a year.

Since the first incidence of Dutch elm disease in the 1920s, each summer hundreds of elms, majestic trees which lined the streets and commons of America of old, die.

We watch, as we watched the passing of the "spreading chestnut tree" under which Longfellow's "village smithy" stood.

The cause is a fungus carried by a small beetle. It lays its eggs under the bark of old and weakened elms, and

may travel up to three miles to find a suitable tree.

The fungus clogs the water-transport system causing the trees to wilt and eventually die. There is no reliable known cure. Fortunately, the disease can be somewhat controlled by a program of sanitation, prevention, and maintenance of good tree health.

The symptoms are similar to a number of other disease and insect problems which strike elms (wilt, phloem necrosis, wetwood, anthracnose, for instance). Positive identification is made by culture of the fungus (by the Forestry Extension Services).

The first sign of Dutch elm disease is often wilting of branches in summer. Other branches follow year by year. Sometimes a whole tree will die quite rapidly, sometimes it may take years.

Diseased branches on a newly infected tree should be cut back quickly. (A second-generation of the vector beetle emerges in mid-July to lay eggs of yet another generation that spreads the disease to other trees.)

The tree should be fertilized in the fall to improve its vigor. Proper pruning is important to remove damaged branches, injuries, and broken bark.

The accepted method of disease control is directed toward preventing the spread of the fungus and the vector beetle. It involves spraying for the beetle, removing dead trees and branches promptly for sanitation, watering, and fertilizing for optimal health.

Spraying agents

Spraying is currently done with a 2 percent dormant spray of methoxychlor applied as the buds are just ready to break in spring. Another 1 percent spray is applied in late June when the leaves are almost full grown.

An agent, such as metasytostox or malathion, is added to the second spray to control the scale, aphids, and mites which proliferate on sprayed trees.



Target of beetle

Because of the majesty and beauty of this tree, many want to plant another elm. The remembered tree which shaded streets and malls is the American elm. Unfortunately, it is also the most susceptible to Dutch elm disease.

Familiar shape

Only Ulmus americana has the wine-glass shape and spreading feathery crown. Because it grows faster than any tree, in any soil, it was heavily overplanted in the last century. No tree can replace its distinctive shape and good growth rate.

Research to breed a resistant clone is a long and painstaking process. Seeds are irradiated to produce mutants. At the Amherst, Mass., Shade Tree Labs about 5,000 irradiated seedling trees germinate each year. After three years, they are inoculated with Dutch elm disease. Most die. The survivors are inoculated a second and third time. About a dozen live.

These trees are carefully grown to blooming size, then crossed and re-crossed to produce a more resistant American elm. Some trees will be released in the 1970s. They will serve as parents for a second generation to be released in the 1980s.

European variations

Currently there are five elms considered resistant to Dutch elm disease. All are variants of the more resistant European elms which do not have the spreading wine-glass shape. Instead they have a central trunk like an ash tree.

Recently, a new elm, the Groeneveld, has been introduced. It is the most resistant to date to Dutch elm disease and canker. Its shape is good, showing the central trunk, a thick crown, and good foliage. Its medium rate of growth is its main drawback.

Zelkova, a Japanese relative of elms, is also used. Hardy, fast growing, and attractive, it has a low, graceful spreading shape.

Mrs. Foster is an ecologist with the Boston Parks and Recreation Department.

Ask a builder

By Forrest M. Holly



Try asphalt topping on driveway oil spill

Q. "My new asphalt driveway is unsightly from a spillage of motor oil. Kitty litter placed on the oil has made it even less attractive. Will asphalt-topping material brushed on cover the ugly area? I have called the asphalt company and I was told to try it."

A. Ask a Builder agrees with the asphalt company. Try the asphalt topping. If afterwards it still seems wet, sprinkle some fine sand over it until dry.

How attic condensation problem was solved

Thank you very much for sending me the proof of the column, including Mr. Holly's reply to my question about condensation and mildew in the attic.

I thought I might pass along information on how the problem was actually solved.

When we insulated our attic floor last spring, we used full-backed fiberglass insulation in strips. We laid these strips between the floor joists and stapled them to the floor joists. This gave covering of aluminum foil to the attic.

I tried forced ventilation and opened up the vents for good air flow. Sweating on the roof joists and roof boards persisted and where the insulation was particularly well-sealed the sweating grew worse.

I discussed this with several people and finally one person suggested that the foil was reflecting the radiant heat from the second floor back into the house.

Prior to our insulating, the radiant heat was passing through the attic floor and warming the underside of the roof just enough to prevent condensation. So I stripped the foil off

half of the attic floor leaving just the fiber-glass strips for insulation.

Within a day the roof began to dry up and the problem within a week was almost entirely eliminated. I found it necessary to move some of the things we were storing in the attic to allow the radiant heat to get to the wet areas on the roof.

Obviously, the stripping of the foil has reduced the effectiveness of the insulation, but it seems that some heat is necessary up there to keep the roof from sweating.

To substantiate this solution, we found this also. When we put the insulation in originally, we did not have enough to do a part of the attic in the rear of the house so we spread the full-backed insulation over just half of that area. The roof above the foil showed condensation as in the rest of the attic but the roof above the area that had no foil never did sweat.

My suggestion to anyone putting insulation on an attic floor would be to use insulation with no foil involved. Fenton, Mich.

J. D. Nelles

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Workhorse engine economical, clean Mercedes diesel picks up momentum

By David Mutch
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Stuttgart, Germany

The sleek, red vehicle we were in sped down the test track at well over 70 m.p.h. Suddenly we were swung up on the concrete high bank, and we flew around the curve, the sides of the car parallel to the ground, like a toy swung on a string.

Test-engineer Guido Moch, specialist in auto durability for Daimler-Benz, took his hands off the wheel, looked over at me, and smiled. "The force [of gravity] just holds us up here," he said, "I can't steer." The force was two Gs, and being a specialist only in slow rides at carnivals, I didn't smile back.

The Daimler people were showing me what their top passenger-car developer, F. H. Van Wensen, calls his company's "optimum propulsion system for the next decade."

Increase noted

The car was a diesel, a quiet, sleek model 300 with five cylinders. Some 48 percent of all the passenger cars sold by Daimler-Benz last year were diesel models, up 8 percent from 1973.

Mr. Moch enjoys telling of when he took two U.S. astronauts around the high bank, each one alone. Only then he was in a high-powered gasoline model and hit the curve at over 100 m.p.h. "It was hard driving for me," he says, "but I wanted to see their reaction." Both of them, he said, just sat back when they hit the curve and laughed at the fun. At that speed the pressure was over 3 Gs.

But today it is the diesels that are flying for Daimler-Benz, because this workhorse engine is very economical and very clean when it is not pushed to its limits.

The Mercedes diesel sold in the United States today has a top speed of 82 m.p.h. and easily meets the 1977 clean-air standards for autos. The exhaust from a diesel, compared with an unmodified gasoline engine, has one-tenth the hydrocarbons, one-twentieth the carbon monoxide, and one-half of the nitrous oxide.

Low horsepower has been the drag factor in marketing diesel autos. The five-cylinder Mercedes, however, has about the same horsepower as the Mercedes 280 (2.3 liter engine) gasoline model with all of the anti-pollution devices required in the United States.

However, this model diesel has only the horsepower of the four-cylinder gasoline engines in the Vega, the Datsun, and the Toyota. Its top speed is about 82 m.p.h., and it gets excellent mileage. And the engine is very durable.

Many taxis in Europe are Mercedes diesels. A number of drivers have told this reporter they get 150,000 miles before they replace the car or the engine.

But the 300 diesel is expensive — around \$12,000 on the East Coast. It is smooth and almost as quiet as a gasoline-engine model.

The horsepower could be raised considerably on these cars, but the expense would be inordinate and the emissions would be dirtier. Mr. Van Wensen says in the 300 diesel his firm has found the best presently possible

ration of horsepower cost and cleanliness.

Some 25 percent of Mercedes sold in the United States in 1974 were diesels, double the percentage the year before. Mr. Van Wensen says that despite the high price of the 300 model, it is a "bargain" considering development costs.

Daimler is confident that with time more Americans will be pulling up to the diesel fuel pumps alongside the trucks to say "fill'er up."

Second of two articles



Saks executive's plea

New York
An executive of Saks & Co. pleaded no contest Wednesday to federal charges that he took part in a scheme by three Fifth Avenue stores to fix prices of women's clothing in the metropolitan area.

Saks, Bergdorf Goodman, and Bonwit Teller previously had entered no-contest pleas and were fined the maximum of \$50,000 each on Feb. 27.

N.Y. banks aid state

Albany, N.Y.
New York's major commercial banks have agreed to make \$140 million in short-term loans to enable the state's Urban Development Corporation to pay off other loans on which it has defaulted.

Mountains of waste from coal

By David F. Salisbury
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

Piled in one place, the wastes from deep coal mining in the U.S. today would make a mountain 5,700 feet high and twice that wide.

As the nation returns increasingly to coal for energy, this "mountain" will continue to grow . . . and there is no simple way to handle it.

This is the thrust of a study just completed by the National Academy of Sciences and the National Academy of Engineering. Specifically, the scientific panel reported on the much-talked-about possibility of returning this waste to the mines from which it comes.

Not always feasible

The scientists found this to be generally feasible, but pointed out a number of "unresolved concerns":

- Back-filling, as it is called, is not possible in about one-third of today's mines and not economical in many others. So forcing coal mines to carry out this practice could drive some out of business.

- Carrying the wastes back into the mines would increase the danger to miners who would have to spend more time underground for every ton of coal dug.

- Underground burial does not solve the problem of acid contamination which has contributed to the fouling of 10,500 miles of streams in Appalachia.

- Little consideration has been given to finding other uses for this waste. Many older piles could be burned for fuel. In certain areas it could be used for landfill. Limited amounts might find a use in road and brick material. Spun into a sort of "angel's hair" it could be used as insulation.

Caution urged

The report cautions that underground disposal must not become part of the "get-it-out-of-sight" attitude toward wastes which has characterized past practices. In some cases it may be better to dispose of the waste on the surface, while in others burying it will be best.

Much of the interest in underground disposal comes from accidents associated with surface refuse heaps. In south Wales, a giant rubbish slide killed 144, in 1968. In West Virginia in 1973 a coal refuse dam broke, killing 118 and leaving 4,000 homeless.

"These . . . hazards . . . have been brought about by some unthinking coal operators working under indifferent and irresponsible enforcement of poor legislation," charges the report.

However, surface disposal of these wastes need not present a hazard, the report concludes. Proper methods can minimize environmental side-effects.



A colorful Easter egg bouquet: but industry dismal gray

Glum U.S. eggmen watch their market roll downhill

By George Moneyhun
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

New York
Color the United States egg industry a rather dismal gray this Easter season.

At a time of year when egg sales are normally at their peak, egg producers have little to crow about. Although the consumer price index for February shows egg prices rising, egg consumption has dropped to a new low.

According to the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA), it has fallen from a peak of 402 eggs per person in 1945 to 285 last year.

Industry officials note that a number of egg firms have been forced to close in the past year. But they are hoping that a new federal law providing for greater research and public promotion of eggs will help slow down the steady decline in egg consumption.

Breakfast habits change

Much of the egg's downhill roll is attributable to changing breakfast habits. With more working wives giving less time to preparing breakfast, ready-to-eat cereals are booming in sales. Officials at the Cereal Institute, Inc., in Chicago, boast that sales have increased 27 percent in the past two years — 9 percent in 1974 alone, making cereal with milk "the No. 1 breakfast choice" in American homes today.

The big splash "natural" cereals made with their much-ballyhooed introduction a year ago, however, has turned out to be only a ripple. Natural cereals — with no artificial additives — are claiming only 10 percent of cereal sales, much less than anticipated.

Cereal manufacturers say an old

stand-by — oatmeal — has made a "fantastic" comeback. They say housewives during the meat shortage found that oatmeal can really stretch a meal. And evidently, the stretch goes on.

Baking cutbacks

The Bakers of America are also catching some of the blame for the cracks in the egg industry. Clucking in dismay, egg industry experts say the high cost of flour and sugar has forced bakers into cutting back, leaving yet another hole in egg sales.

High feed costs, though, are at the heart of the industry's problems. Almost 70 percent of rising production costs go to feed. Labor costs and competition from eggs imported from Canada have been factors, too, in the producers' financial scramble.

Officials at the American Egg Board are hoping that once funds become available and a nationwide organization is set up under the Egg Research and Consumer Information Act, signed into law last October, an "educational" campaign will be able to counter many of the health fears now associated with egg consumption.

Overblown concern

Egg producers contend studies have shown the alleged dangers of egg eating have been blown far out of proportion and that at most 1.5 percent of the population need have any concern whatever.

Richard Kathe, president of the American Egg Board, says a limited promotional campaign tried in parts of the U.S. last year proved successful in increasing egg sales.

The industry's hope is that a similar nationwide campaign might slow down the rate at which egg sales have been dropping in recent years.

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LIFE INCOME PROTECTION SPECIAL Program for Students of Christian Science. Edward Baskett — Combined Insurance Company of America, 350 East Imperial Highway, Lynnwood, California 90262. (213) 636-2191.

LEGAL NOTICE NOTICE OF FILING APPLICATION FOR CHANGE OF OFFICE LOCATION Notice is hereby given that, pursuant to the provisions of s/6 545.16 of the rules and regulations for the Federal Savings and Loan System, the First Federal Savings and Loan Association of Boston, Massachusetts has filed an application for permission to change the location of its office which is now located at 115 Summer Street, Boston, Massachusetts, to or in the immediate vicinity of Devonshire Street and Summer Street, Boston, Massachusetts. The application has been delivered to the Office of the Supervisory Agent of the said Board, located at the Federal Home Loan Bank of Boston, One Union Street, Boston. Any person may file communications, including briefs, in favor or in protest of said application at the aforesaid office of the Supervisory Agent within 10 days (or within 30 days if advice is filed within the first 10 days) stating that more time is needed to furnish additional information after the date of this publication. Four copies of any communications should be filed. The application and all communications in favor or in protest thereof are available for inspection by any person at the aforesaid Office of the Supervisory Agent. FIRST FEDERAL SAVINGS AND LOAN ASSOCIATION OF BOSTON

DOGS FOR SALE BOUVIER DES FLANDRES 9 week male A.K.C. registered quality champion line. Very protective, gentle. \$350. (617) 253-2697 wkdays. 9-5 (Mass.)

COMPOSER OF lyrics and music for new recordings: TV, musicals, commercials. DREW CASE DEHEER, 2009 Regency Tower, 333 NW 5th, Okla. City, OK 73102. (405) 232-7782.

COINS AND STAMPS EXCITING WORLD WIDE STAMP Packet including topicals and a beautiful mint United Nations. Set 10¢ with request for approvals. HOBBS ASSOCIATES, P.O. Box 2859, San Francisco, CA 94126.

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BUSINESS HIGHLIGHTS

Saks executive's plea

New York
An executive of Saks & Co. pleaded no contest Wednesday to federal charges that he took part in a scheme by three Fifth Avenue stores to fix prices of women's clothing in the metropolitan area.

Saks, Bergdorf Goodman, and Bonwit Teller previously had entered no-contest pleas and were fined the maximum of \$50,000 each on Feb. 27.

N.Y. banks aid state

Albany, N.Y.
New York's major commercial banks have agreed to make \$140 million in short-term loans to enable the state's Urban Development Corporation to pay off other loans on which it has defaulted.

Not always feasible

The scientists found this to be generally feasible, but pointed out a number of "unresolved concerns":

- Back-filling, as it is called, is not possible in about one-third of today's mines and not economical in many others. So forcing coal mines to carry out this practice could drive some out of business.

- Carrying the wastes back into the mines would increase the danger to miners who would have to spend more time underground for every ton of coal dug.

- Underground burial does not solve the problem of acid contamination which has contributed to the fouling of 10,500 miles of streams in Appalachia.

- Little consideration has been given to finding other uses for this waste. Many older piles could be burned for fuel. In certain areas it could be used for landfill. Limited amounts might find a use in road and brick material. Spun into a sort of "angel's hair" it could be used as insulation.

Caution urged

The report cautions that underground disposal must not become part of the "get-it-out-of-sight" attitude toward wastes which has characterized past practices. In some cases it may be better to dispose of the waste on the surface, while in others burying it will be best.

Much of the interest in underground disposal comes from accidents associated with surface refuse heaps. In south Wales, a giant rubbish slide killed 144, in 1968. In West Virginia in 1973 a coal refuse dam broke, killing 118 and leaving 4,000 homeless.

"These . . . hazards . . . have been brought about by some unthinking coal operators working under indifferent and irresponsible enforcement of poor legislation," charges the report.

However, surface disposal of these wastes need not present a hazard, the report concludes. Proper methods can minimize environmental side-effects.

السلامة

And so—proceed

I never pass a graveyard
but I sudden see
leap of affirmation
where the cold stones be:

and hear cascade of laughter
on the silenced air —
not resurrected bones and breath
but breakthrough into here

of some most certain substance
that antedates the dust.
And so — proceed unharmed:
who did not start accused.

Doris Peal

Choice

World of tomorrow,
Which shall it be?
Sorrow or sorrow,
Bondmen or free?

When will be lifted
The curtain of hate?
And what of compassion—
Too little, too late?

Now that we've taken
The atom apart,
When will we chasten
The mind and the heart?

Shall we turn backward
Or forward to light,
Loving our brother,
Black man or white?

World of tomorrow,
Which shall it be?
Sorrow or sorrow,
Bondmen or free?

R. R. Ricketts

Equation

There is a pattern to the sum of things
that I, a fraction, can no more deny.
Proof is elusive, and a thousand springs
(as one) are not enough to clarify
its X-times-now equation. Knowing this,
and knowing nothing more, I am content
to take each day's mute measure like a kiss
and keep my step in field and firmament.

Oh, I have wrung my hands through anguished hours,
have heard my voice cry, "What are patterns for?"
My doubt has probed the tombs of men and flowers,
my reason threatened mutiny in war.
All this — till something in me, old as space
yet new, arose and filled its fraction place.

Bonnie May Malody

In the midst of quiet

You run and run and run, away from every-
thing that has caused suffering. You run until
your legs will not carry you any further, until you
have run beyond the utmost boundaries of all
that was hurtful, and then you find at last a quiet
place where there is no more anger and no more
scorn, no more rejection and humiliation, and in
this quiet place you begin the work of building
your life as you know it must be, until your
strength returns and grows into a new strength,
and your vision clears, and you begin to realize
that at last you are whole and free.

And then you turn, and you walk back past the

old landmarks, past the places that frightened
you so once, and now you are no longer
frightened. Yes, the old landmarks are there,
and some of the same faces are there, too. But
there is a newness, and you see it all with new
eyes and with a new heart, and with new
compassion.

You realize, for the first time, perhaps, how
subjective it all is, and how our emotions dictate
the shapes and colors of the landscapes within
which we move and live our lives.

Alex Noble

Easter won't stay put

John Gould

All the monkeying around with
holidays, so the proletariat and the
snowmobilers can have long week-
ends, has left Easter alone, and
maybe we should review this with
thoughts of reform. Easter contin-
ues to fluctuate between March 22
and April 26, and here in Maine this
has always been the worst possible
run of available occasions. The
Council of Nicaea A.D. 325 hardly
foresaw that Mainers would be shov-
eling three feet of snow to get out to
church, but they had a misguided
erudition that established Easter on
the basis of how-old-is-Ann? to leave
future generations scared to touch
the thing.

We don't always shovel snow.
Sometimes we tread it down. And
once in a while we have a bright
Easter of impeccable beauty, equal

Dispatch from the farm

to the gilded lily and the lilting
thrush, and the cry of "Wipe your
feet!" is heard. Any kind of a day
that starts the frost makes mud
season in Maine, and the resounding
boom of reverberating flatbreads
rolls like distant drums from the
Piscataqua to the St. John. A flat-
form is a Maine contribution to
architecture which sits apart from
the back door and is a place for
stomping mud and snow off boots.

So Easter comes to us with freeze
and thaw, and the only evidence of
vernal fertility, upon which the

earliest pagans based their festival,
would be a box of petunias sprouting
in the sink window, and they aren't
doing too well. The Council of Nicaea
decided the astronomical computa-
tions for Easter should be made at
Alexandria, where the equinox has
always proceeded according to pre-
cedent and is not hastened or hin-
dered by the Fundy Tides and the
Montreal Express. I presume Easter
is always lovely in Alexandria, but
only once in a while do we have a
day when the family photograph can
be made on the front steps without a
snowbank at either side. Functional
Maine Easter hats will have pro-
visional earflappers still.

The paradox is that while I may
seem to be calling for a fixed date
for Easter, Easter is the most fixed
date of all. Not only has Easter
always been the basis for many
other sacred and secular occasions,
but it was the wish of the Emperor
Constantine to avoid forever a
coincidence with the Passover. This
was the principal purpose of the
convocation of brains at Nicaea, but
the knowledge of the time was
unequal to the difference between
the solar and lunar years, and the
best that could be done at Nicaea
was temporary. From 325 to 485
things muddled, and in that year
Pope Hilarius sent for Astronomer
Victorinus and asked him to
straighten out Easter. He came up
with his famous "Golden Number,"

which was so simple and so com-
plicated that any Steinmetz can
explain it in a couple of hours.
Victorinus, too, was bothered by the
epoch.

But when Pope Hilarius nodded,
the Christian churches saw that
Victorinus was good, except for the
English. The book says the seventh
century had a "bitter dispute" as
the Christians in England refused to
accept the Hilarius version. It
wasn't until 1582 that Pope Gregory
XIII shifted to a new calendar,
which not only made Easter easier
to compute, but changed Wash-
ington's birthday. Well, it did. England
didn't accept the Gregorian calen-
dar until 1752, when George Wash-
ington was 20 years old, and the shift
necessitated the suppression of ten
days between September 3 to 13, and
George had his birthday moved to
February 22, which came this year
on February 17. Easter, at the same
time, was fixed as we now have it,
which means it is movable. Veter-
ans' Day, Columbus Day, and Wash-
ington's birthday also move.

A set day for Easter is not a new
idea. In 1800 some kind of inter-
national chamber of commerce sug-
gested it. In 1923, the Holy See was
asked if reform was possible, and no
canonical objections came forward.
In 1928 the British Parliament gra-
ciously enacted a measure to let the
Anglicans hold Easter regularly on
the Sunday after the first Saturday
of April, exact or no exact. But these
suggestions are like the editorials in
the Richmond Bee — nobody did
anything about them. I fully expect a
similar response.

The Monitor's daily religious article

Self-renewal

There are a lot of people who
would like to change themselves
for the better. Sometimes we give
up because we think some of our
undesirable traits of character or
disposition are too ingrained. Per-
manent. Unerasable.

But getting rid of what ham-
pers us is not merely a remote
possibility — it is mandatory. The
Bible says, "If any man be in
Christ, he is a new creature: old
things are passed away; behold,
all things are become new." Mary
Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and
Founder of Christian Science, writes,
"Correct material belief by spiritual understanding,
and Spirit will form you anew."

It is not unrealistic, then, to ex-
pect to achieve improvements in
our lives if the effort is focused
on improving one's understanding
of the Christ, Truth. In so doing
we can prove daily that limita-
tions are only as fixed as our
thinking. Tenacious personal

traits of years' standing dissolve
when confronted with spiritual
understanding, with the knowl-
edge of God as the creator of all
and man as the infinite, spiritual
expression of God.

When viewed physically, man
appears to be a finite being, lim-
ited by his ancestry, his intellect,
his environment, and other ele-
ments generally considered irre-
versible. But the spiritual concept
of being taught in Christian Sci-
ence challenges the sentences im-
posed by our educated beliefs
about so-called inherent personal
characteristics such as low in-
telligence, bad dispositional
traits, family diseases, and so
forth.

Christian Science teaches that
man's true and only existence is
as the spiritual image and like-
ness of God. Therefore, the more
we learn about God the more we
become conscious of the true self-
hood, or identity, of man. And the
more we know about our real,

spiritual selfhood and live it, the
more our human nature approxi-
mates the divine nature.

Would you like to become more
generous? More patient? Wiser?
Would you like to be able to ex-
press yourself better — in, say, a
more gentle, diplomatic manner?
Or perhaps you may desire a bet-
ter sense of humor or a quicker
wit.

The improvements you desire
are within reach if your motive is
unselfish and you are willing to
earnestly seek a fuller and deeper
understanding of your true being.
Expressing the divine qualities
will undoubtedly result in im-
proved human character as well.
Spiritually renewed thinking will
upgrade human experience pro-
portionately.

¹ II Corinthians 5:17; ² Science and Health
with Key to the Scriptures, p. 425.

[Elsewhere on this page may be found translations of this
article in French and German. Once a week an article on
Christian Science appears in a French and a German
translation.]

[This is a French translation of today's religious article]

Traduction de l'article religieux paraissant en anglais sur cette page
(Une traduction française est publiée chaque semaine)

Se renouveler

Il y a beaucoup de gens qui
aimeraient faire l'expérience d'un
changement afin de s'améliorer.
Parfois nous abandonnons nos ef-
forts parce que nous estimons que
certains de nos vilains traits de
caractère ou dispositions d'esprit
sont trop ancrés, qu'ils sont
permanents, indéracinables.

Mais se débarrasser de ce qui
nous entrave ne constitue pas
simplement une vague possibilité —
c'est une nécessité impérieuse. La
Bible dit : « Si quelqu'un est en
Christ, il est une nouvelle créature.
Les choses anciennes sont passées ;
voilà, toutes choses sont devenues
nouvelles. » Mary Baker Eddy,
Découvreuse et Fondatrice de la
Science Chrétienne, écrit : « Cor-
rigez la croyance matérielle par la
compréhension spirituelle, et l'Esprit
vous reconstruira. »

Il est donc tout à fait normal de
s'attendre à accomplir des progrès
dans la vie si l'on concentre ses ef-
forts sur l'amélioration de sa com-
préhension du Christ, la Vérité. Ce
faisant, nous pouvons prouver quo-
tidienement que les limitations ne
sont guère plus fixes que nos pen-
sées. Des traits de caractère tenaces,
personnels, que nous entretenons
depuis des années, disparaissent
lorsque nous leur opposons la
compréhension spirituelle, la con-
naissance de Dieu en tant que

créateur de toutes choses, la con-
naissance de l'homme en tant que
l'expression spirituelle infinie de
Dieu.

Du point de vue physique,
l'homme semble être un être fini,
limité par sa lignée ancestrale, son
intelligence, son environnement et
d'autres éléments généralement con-
sidérés comme irréversibles. Toute-
fois le concept spirituel de l'être
qu'enseigne la Science Chrétienne
jette un défi aux verdicts qu'impo-
sent les croyances établies concer-
nant certains traits de caractère
personnels et inhérents tels qu'une
intelligence déficiente, de mauvais
traits de caractère, des maladies
héréditaires et ainsi de suite.

La Science Chrétienne enseigne
que l'homme n'existe uniquement et
véritablement qu'en tant qu'image
et ressemblance spirituelles de Dieu.
Par conséquent, plus nous en savons
sur Dieu et plus nous devenons
conscients du vrai moi, ou identité,
de l'homme. Et plus nous en savons
sur notre moi spirituel et réel et
le vivons, plus notre nature humaine
ressemble à notre nature divine.

Aimeriez-vous devenir plus géné-
reux ? Plus patient ? Faire preuve
de plus de sagesse ? Aimeriez-vous
être à même de vous exprimer d'une
meilleure manière, c'est-à-dire avec
plus de douceur et de diplomatie ?
Ou aimeriez-vous peut-être avoir

un meilleur sens d'humour, avoir
plus d'esprit ?

Les améliorations que vous dé-
sirez sont à portée de la main,
si vos mobiles sont dépourvus
d'égoïsme et que vous désirez sin-
cèrement comprendre plus pro-
fondément et plus pleinement votre
être véritable. Assurément, l'ex-
pression des qualités divines aura
également pour conséquence l'amé-
lioration de votre caractère humain.
A mesure que vous penserez se re-
nouvellement spirituellement, votre
existence humaine s'améliorera
proportionnellement.

¹ II Corinthiens 5:17; ² Science et Santé
avec la Clé des Ecritures, p. 425.

³ Christian Science; prononcez "kris-tien" "saï-ence".

La traduction française de l'article d'aujourd'hui de la Science
Chrétienne, « Science et Santé avec la Clé des Ecritures », de Mary Baker Eddy, écrite avec la toute
anglaise en regard. On peut l'acheter dans les Salles de Lec-
ture de la Science Chrétienne, ou la commander à
Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway
Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Pour tous renseignements sur les autres publications
de la Science Chrétienne en français, écrire à The Chris-
tian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Bos-
ton, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Being all that you are

Within the heart of every
man, woman, and child is a
deep-seated desire for ful-
fillment. Many have found
that a more-alive under-
standing of the Bible has
released God-given talents.
They have begun to under-
stand their capabilities as
the children of God.

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stand more of this for your-
self?

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child of God is Science and
Health with Key to the
Scriptures by Mary Baker
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[This is a German translation of today's religious article]

Übersetzung des auf dieser Seite in englisch erscheinenden religiösen Artikels
(Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint einmal wöchentlich)

Selbsterneuerung

Es gibt viele Leute, die sich gern
zum Besseren ändern möchten.
Manchmal geben wir auf, weil wir
glauben, einige unserer uner-
wünschten Charakterzüge oder un-
sere Veranlagung seien zu stark
eingewurzelt, etwas Dauerhaftes,
unüberwindlich.

Doch das Loszuwerden, was uns
behindert, ist nicht nur möglich —
es ist unumgänglich. Die Bibel
sagt: „Ist jemand in Christus, so
ist er eine neue Kreatur; das Alte
ist vergangen, siehe, es ist alles neu
geworden.“ Mary Baker Eddy, die
Entdeckerin und Gründerin der
Christlichen Wissenschaft*, schreibt:
„Berichtige die materielle Annahme
durch geistiges Verständnis, und
Geist wird dich neu bilden.“

Es ist daher durchaus realistisch,
Fortschritt in unserem Leben zu er-
warten, wenn wir unser Bestreben
darauf richten, ein besseres Ver-
ständnis von dem Christus, der
Wahrheit, zu erlangen. Wenn wir
dies tun, können wir täglich bewei-
sen, daß Begrenzungen nur so un-
abänderlich sind wie unser Denken.
Hartnäckige, seit Jahren bestehende
Charakterzüge verschwinden, wenn
sie mit dem geistigen Verständnis
konfrontiert werden, mit der Er-
kenntnis, daß Gott der Schöpfer
von allem und der Mensch der un-
endliche, geistige Ausdruck Gottes
ist.

Materiell gesehen, erscheint der
Mensch als ein endliches Wesen, be-
grenzt durch seine Abstammung,
seinen Verstand, seine Umwelt und
andere Elemente, die im allge-
meinen für unabänderlich gehalten
werden. Doch der geistige Begriff
des Seins, wie er in der Christlichen
Wissenschaft gelehrt wird, fordert
den Urteilspruch heraus, der uns
von unseren anerzogenen Annah-
men in bezug auf sogenannte uns
eigene persönliche Merkmale wie
z. B. geringe Intelligenz, eine
schlechte Charakteranlage, Fami-
lienkrankheiten und ähnliches auf-
erlegt wird.

Die Christliche Wissenschaft

lehrt, daß das wahre und einzige
Dasein des Menschen das geistige
Bild und Gleichnis Gottes ist. Je
mehr wir also über Gott lernen,
desto mehr werden wir uns des
wahren Wesens oder der Identität
des Menschen bewußt. Und je mehr
wir über unser wirkliches geistiges
Selbst wissen und ihm gemäß leben,
desto mehr gleicht sich unsere
menschliche Natur der göttlichen
an.

Möchten Sie großzügiger werden?
Geduldiger? Verständiger? Möch-
ten Sie sich besser ausdrücken kön-
nen — sagen wir, freundlicher,
diplomatischer? Oder vielleicht
möchten Sie mehr Humor haben
oder schlagfertiger sein.

Der Fortschritt, nach dem wir
uns sehnen, ist erreichbar, wenn un-
ser Beweggrund selbstlos ist und wir
bereit sind, ernstlich ein um-
fassenderes und tieferes Verständ-
nis von unserem wahren Sein zu
suchen. Wenn wir die göttlichen
Eigenschaften zum Ausdruck brin-
gen, wird sich zweifellos auch un-
ser menschlicher Charakter bessern.
Und in ebendem Verhältnis wird
geistig erneuertes Denken die
menschliche Erfahrung auf eine
höhere Stufe heben.

¹ 2. Korinther 5:17; ² Wissenschaft und
Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen
Schrift, S. 425.

*Christian Science; spricht: "kris-tien" "saï-ence".

Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christ-
lichen Wissenschaft, „Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit
Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift“ von Mary Baker Eddy, ist
mit dem englischen Text auf der gegenüberliegenden
Seite erhältlich. Das Buch kann in den Lesesalzen der
Christlichen Wissenschaft gekauft werden oder von
Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway
Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Auskunft über andere christlich-wissenschaftliche
Schriften in deutscher Sprache erhält auf Anfrage der
Verlag, The Christian Science Publishing Society, One
Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Daily Bible verse

Jesus answered and said unto
him, Verily, verily, I say unto thee,
Except a man be born again, he
cannot see the kingdom of God.
John 3:3

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear"

Friday, March 28, 1975

The Monitor's view

Tools for recovery

Congress deserves kudos for hammering out and stoutly pushing through a tax-cut bill. The \$22.8 billion package to fight recession is, on balance, good and it is to be hoped the President will soon sign it into law.

With unemployment still running at more than 8 percent and the economy sagging, a speedy tax relief is in order. It is supported by both conservative and liberal economists, by labor, and by industry. Apart from its tangible benefits, it should help boost public confidence and provide a better psychological climate for economic recovery.

It is true that the size of the tax reduction is some \$7 billion greater than Mr. Ford wanted. But the economy has plummeted far faster and deeper than White House advisers forecast. The loss of GNP is now running at a rate of \$17.5 billion or so a year.

The salient feature of the bill is that it will put money quickly into the hands of the buying public. The rebate of between \$100 and \$200 for taxpayers means almost everyone will receive something. The \$50 payment to social security and welfare recipients was in part politically motivated but nonetheless, as a one-shot benefit, makes that much more money available.

An intriguing feature of the program is the provision of a cash payment to low-income persons who owe no tax. The general concept of the so-called "negative income tax" is gaining support as a viable alternative to the very complex, bureaucratized costly system of social welfare benefits. It is favored by many conservatives as well as liberals and deserves serious consideration in the overall welfare debate.

Some items in Congress's tax bill are regrettable. One is the tax credit for house purchasers up to a maximum of \$2,000. Housing already receives a big subsidy in the form of the allowable deduction of mortgage interest from taxable income. A better way to help the homebuyer and the housing industry would have been to subsidize mortgage loans or, better still, to give savings and loan institutions more freedom in setting variable interest rates for home mortgages.

Removal of the oil depletion allowance for the major producers

is a long-overdue and welcome move. A phase-down of the allowance to 15 percent for smaller companies by 1984 is better than keeping the allowance altogether. But it is still an unnecessary subsidy to so-called "small" producers, many of whom are sizable businesses whose return on equity capital last year exceeded 25 percent.

As President Ford now considers the bill, it is happy to note that the worst of the problem of inflation seems to be over. It is no longer running at a double-digit level and is expected to come down to between 5 and 6 percent in the next year or two.

Meanwhile, the Federal Reserve Board has come around to priming the economy again, expanding the money supply at a rate of about 11 percent. This policy — combined with the tax-reduction package — should provide the moderate stimulus necessary to reverse the downward slide and get the economy moving once again. It will be a long haul ahead — perhaps a couple of years — but the tools for getting started are now at hand.

Easter, 1975

Easter comes early this year but, to be blunt about it, none too soon. The world's crescendo of unsolved problems clamors for a perspective fostering solutions rather than despair. Easter offers such a perspective in its profound reminder that even man's final challenge was met by man's great Exemplar.

Of course, the essence of Easter does not depend on a date on the calendar. It is celebrated daily by those who find in the qualities exemplified by Jesus a model for all seasons.

And in these qualities lie the fundamental answers to be applied in contemporary terms to today's problems of injustice, want, and strife. Not an easy task, but the fortitude for it is also part of the meaning of Easter, as phrased by the founder of this newspaper, Mary Baker Eddy: "Immortal courage fills the human breast and lights the living way of life."

'What kind of a people we are'

The American people can turn off their television sets, but they cannot turn off their hearts and minds. The stark images linger — the broken bodies, the broken families, the renewed horror of the latest flight of the innocents in Vietnam.

How will the world's greatest nation react to this new mass tragedy of the faraway war in which it has so long been implicated? Secretary Kissinger did not claim too much when he said this week that "the problem we face in Indo-China is an elementary question of what kind of a people we are."

To Dr. Kissinger the test of the people would be their willingness to continue military and economic aid to a South Vietnam encouraged to depend on it — or to "deliberately destroy an ally by withholding aid from it in its moment of extremity."

To other Americans, equally concerned about "what kind of a people we are," the question was whether continued military aid to the Thieu regime was the best thing America could do for the people of South Vietnam. They reasoned that, after their country's prodigious expenditure of lives and money in South Vietnam, no one could accuse the United States of deliberately destroying an ally. To them the ending of military aid might, in fact, help to end the destroying of Vietnamese lives and perhaps spur President Thieu into the political negotiations leading to some sort of stability, albeit with Communist participation if not domination.

Both for those who favor continuing military aid, and for those who favor ending it, the matter of motives is vital to the question of "what kind of a people we are." A decision to continue aid should not be motivated by a selfish desire to

avoid blame for what might happen next. A decision to end aid should not be motivated by a selfish desire to stop paying "because we can't win anyway."

This newspaper's position is in line with the expressed motive of Dr. Kissinger in honoring a moral if not legal commitment to South Vietnam. As long as the South Vietnamese are willing to keep up the struggle themselves, they have a claim on that U.S. commitment.

By this reasoning, the administration's proposal to provide aid with a three-year cutoff date is not ideal. How can you set a deadline if there remains a will to resist? Yet, if a cutoff is the price of congressional approval of aid now, it would be worth it. Not for the sake of ending debate, as Dr. Kissinger said, but for the sake of the Vietnamese people.

And this is where the images of the refugees eloquently speak once more. From all accounts, their flight from Communist forces represents panic rather than political commitment. But the fact is that they are fleeing from communism rather than toward it. And in this they show good judgment, ideologically motivated or not.

For it is South Vietnam, not North Vietnam, where the Freedom House survey last year surprisingly found some of the largest gains for freedom in Asia. For all the shortcomings of the Thieu regime, the worldwide record of communism suggests that a Communist regime would be worse.

We respect those who honestly believe the end of military aid would produce better conditions for peace and political evolution. But, as long as those on the battle lines see it otherwise, America can afford to continue the support its representatives led them to expect.

'This proves I like you \$6.6 billion more than he does'



The negative income tax

By Richard L. Strout

Washington
The negative income tax — NIT — has its toe in the door.

Last January President Ford in his State of the Union message, stated the idea calmly: "Those with the very lowest incomes, who can least afford higher costs, must also be compensated. I propose a payment of \$80 to every person 18 years of age and older in that category."

In starker form that is the idea of government handing over cash to poor people without telling them how to spend it.

The negative income tax swam into this reporter's ken in a newspaper article in December, 1965, about Prof. Milton Friedman of Chicago University: "Economist says negative tax should replace all poverty aid." He was then president-elect of the American Economic Association. He defined the plan in Newsweek, in 1968: "The basic idea of a negative income tax is to use the mechanism by which we now collect tax revenue from people with incomes above some minimum level to provide financial assistance to people with incomes below that level."

An ingenious notion, we thought! Maybe some day in some far off time America will adopt it.

The extraordinary thing is how fast it has come with how little discussion. President Nixon had a variant of NIT in his unsuccessful family assistance program, which proposed a kind of guaranteed income for poorly paid workers.

Then came the matter-of-fact proposal by President Ford which startled this reporter but didn't seem to arouse much protest.

Now the pending congressional tax program actually incorporates part of the plan to make distributions to help stimulate the economy.

Is Professor Friedman a wild radical? He was an adviser of Barry Goldwater in the 1964 campaign. Is the negative income tax a chimera of do-gooders? It was called "feasible and compatible with our economic system" by a group of 1,200 representative economists on a petition in 1963. Will low-income workers quit work if they get government cash supplements? President Nixon instituted a case study in five New Jersey and Pennsylvania communities in 1972-73 which ultimately indicated, in the dry language of the sociologists, that male breadwinners in families at or close to the poverty level did not work less if they got an assured handout from the government than did men in similar income range who had to depend on wages alone.

The casual reader may be surprised at how long this little known idea has been kicking about. Some liberals tend to favor it because it might equalize the disparity of incomes. Some conservatives like Professor Friedman favor it because they see it as a possible substitute for the enormously expensive present welfare system, which nearly everybody agrees is a mess.

Should NIT recipients get benefits in cash rather than kind — like food stamps? Yes, says firm free-enterpriser Friedman: Let recipients build self-reliance by running their own lives. Should there be a means test? No, says Professor Friedman, no more of a test than that of the ordinary income tax return now applicable to everyone. He argues that professional social workers spend 90 percent of their time as paymasters and policemen snooping on welfare recipients. The NIT, he thinks, might simplify this and — who knows? — perhaps even scale down the operations of big-brother bureaucrats.

Mirror of opinion

Conservative alternatives

Are American conservatives, who are mostly Republicans, going to insist on a narrowly-based Presidential candidate of rigid philosophy in 1976? If the conservatives who met in Washington [recently] speak for conservatives generally, the answer to that may well be "yes." At the end of their conference in Washington conservatives established a Committee on Conservative Alternatives, which is going to look into the possibility of creating a third party.

A third party is, indeed, an alternative. But it is not the only alternative conservatives have to what they consider their predicament — which is that their Republican home has become dominated by men and women of relatively moderate views. To most Americans, we would guess, the Republican party is about as conservative as a party can be and still expect to assume national responsibilities and power. But to the conservatives of the ilk gathered in Washington [recently] — the callers of the convention were the Young Americans for Freedom and the American Conservative Union — the party tilts to the left.

That they do so see the party is a problem for them, but it is not their

main problem. Their main problem is that they aren't willing to work with people of slightly dissimilar views in a union of convenience. Yet a political party must be such a union. In 1964, conservative Republicans took over the party and excluded moderates and liberals; in 1972, liberal Democrats took over their party and excluded moderates and conservatives. In both cases defeat followed, overwhelming, numbing, total defeat.

In both those cases, however, the parties bounced back. The extremists in the parties did not succeed in permanently institutionalizing their narrow political philosophy. So, bad as the takeovers were, they were not as bad as creation of a truly new third party. That seems to be the desire of many conservative Republicans this year. Should they be successful, what is likely to happen is that they will insure themselves permanent ineffectiveness — and insure the same for their old party.

Which party, which political philosophy would be the winner in that case? — The Sun (Baltimore)

Remembrances of Hue

By John Dillin

Atlanta

"South Viets Abandoning Hue"
The headline grabbed my attention as I hurried past an Atlanta newsstand. I thought of a young American machine gunner, a quiet Buddhist monk, and a beautiful city that has gone to ruin.

It was nine years ago that this reporter first ventured into Hue, a city of 200,000, in a battered Peugeot taxicab. The city was torn then with strife between Buddhists and the military regime of Premier Nguyen Cao Ky.

Hue had always been lukewarm toward the war. It is Vietnam's old imperial capital, and it has never adjusted to rule by a young, bustling upstart like Saigon, hundreds of miles to the south. One of South Vietnam's best fighting divisions, the First, was recruited from Hue but Saigon knew that in a showdown between Buddhists and the government, many soldiers would turn their backs on the military regime.

My first stay in Hue lasted only a few days, but it made a lasting impression. The quiet Perfume River slides through the city, and Hue itself is radiant at that time of year with its royal palaces.

When I arrived, local Buddhists were setting up hundreds of religious altars, usually kept in their homes, in the middle of Hue's busiest roads. Those narrow highways, choked with traffic, were hard to negotiate anyway for the huge American trucks and APCs that carried the U.S. and Vietnamese armies. Those giant vehicles were forced to edge gently around the fragile altars, like elephants tiptoeing around butterflies.

Once a U.S. truck knocked down an altar. Local Vietnamese quickly formed a human blockade and stopped the convoy until U.S. officers came forward and apologized. Both sides felt ambivalent. Many U.S. troops wanted to drive right over the altar. Many Vietnamese didn't know whether they wanted the Americans there or not.

Would the war have gone better if the Americans and the Saigon government had been tougher on the people of Hue?

Later I bunked for a few days with American GIs — a helicopter crew that flew combat duty by day, then returned to their Hue barracks at

night. One youngster, just 15, told a poignant story of the mental anguish of the war.

He was a helicopter gunner. That day, he related their chopper had taken a hit — a single bullet — as it flew over rice paddies near Hue. Circling back, the crew could see nothing but an old woman quietly hoeing in a field of rice. Circling again, however, they noticed the woman had a rifle strapped to the handle of her hoe.

"Kill her," the pilot ordered the young gunner. "We'll make one more pass over the field."

The helicopter came low this time and the young man opened fire. Bullets spit into the ground, kicking up mud just a few feet from the woman. But she wasn't hit.

"I just couldn't do it," the young man told me that evening. "Kill that lady like that? I just couldn't."

Did that same woman later kill a U.S. soldier?

Later on that first visit, Thich Thuan, the Buddhist monk behind the Hue protest, granted an interview to explain the middle road he was trying to hew between Saigon and Hanoi. Vietnam needed a national assembly, he said. And it needed more independence from the U.S. If it got those things, the Communists could be defeated.

Meanwhile, his supporters took valuable troops from the war — troops vitally needed.

Hue's difficult ideological, as well as geographical, position in the war has cost it much. During the Tet offensive of 1968 it was occupied by Communist troops for a month. Later, the mass graves of more than 3,000 Hue residents killed during the occupation were discovered.

Now thousands of Hue citizens are fleeing southward in search of safety. Many of them are probably among those who protested with their altars against the Ky military regime back in 1968.

It will be up to historians to decide what role Hue's indecisiveness and the indecisiveness of the West played in what looks to be a growing military disaster for South Vietnam this spring.

Mr. Dillin, the Monitor's bureau chief in Atlanta, was formerly its correspondent in Vietnam.

Readers write

Violence in Kenya

To The Christian Science Monitor:

It is barely 10 years since Tom Mboya was gunned down on a busy street in Nairobi city center. The motives behind that senseless killing have not yet been revealed to the people of Kenya whose problems Mboya worked day and night to solve. It is now disturbing to hear of another assassination of yet another servant of the people, J. M. Karuki.

The Mafia-type killing of Karuki has deprived Kenya of another voice of reason.

The Mboya-Karuki assassinations have one thing in common: the targets are people who are willing to make their views known on issues of vital importance to Kenya. They happen to be people who are opposed to selfish individual interests and are indeed dedicated to the Kenyan cause rather than to tribal interests. It is people like Mboya and Karuki who are needed to instill the concept of Kenyan nationhood and to find innovative approaches to our problems.

After the Mboya-Karuki assassinations, many of the current MPs will be scared to express their opinions which might conflict with the government policies — but this is not to say that the government is suspected of participating in the Mafia-type killing of Karuki.

To restore faith of the people in the efficiency of the government and its concern to combat destructive elements within the country, the commission of inquiry established to investigate the Karuki assassination should be empowered to investigate other political killings.

And before the person or group responsible for the Karuki murder is known, the government should consider seriously security protection for every member of Parliament.

Peter F. Kenya
Medford, Mass. Tufts University

What spoiled hockey?

To The Christian Science Monitor:

The article "Greed spoils hockey playoffs" warrants this response from a fan who has followed the NHL for about 25 years: Don't blame the NHL owners for the present quality of professional hockey; blame the American public. The fan buys the product, most of which has the Canadian seal of approval. Even NBC's broadcast team has a Canadian background.

I feel that the writer of the article must have had his head through the

ice these past seven years. There is one legitimate contender in the NHL today. How could he include the New York Rangers in the top six team? They haven't amused themselves with a win in Toronto since 1972. If it were American hockey fan war value for his dollar he should invest in a good college hockey game. Allegan, Mich. Brian McFalls

Fitting children's shoes

To The Christian Science Monitor:

"Getting more sole miles per dollar" gives some very helpful advice to families with several children. However, I am an owner of a shoe store and I feel that after 16 years of fitting experience I can truthfully say that trying to fit children in bargain basements and by mail is not wise.

Buying shoes on sale is fine if you do not buy for future wear. Children's feet change rapidly and parents are not aware of this. Consequently, ill-fitted shoes are the result. The best and most economical way of buying children's shoes is to buy good ones sure of the person fitting them. Then follow your advice on the proper care of shoes. May I also add that I would also enable the small retailer stay in business.

Novato, Calif. Genevieve Jani

Jane Fonda interview

To The Christian Science Monitor:

Re your piece on the recent published interview with Jane Fonda in a Moscow journal:

I must express some wonder at tone of the story by your special correspondent. This is hardly objective piece of writing, by even most lax standards; the writer editorializing at least, preaching worst. It is obviously important state the special character of circumstances of her visit. But the moralize that she obviously is not cued in on things that seem (apparently) obvious to the writer qualifies the piece for news p appearance. If you wish to be descending in this manner it belongs on the editorial page. No? Houston, Tex. Philip B. Taylor

Letters expressing reader views are welcome. Each receives editorial consideration though only a selection can be published and none individual acknowledged. All are subject to condensation.